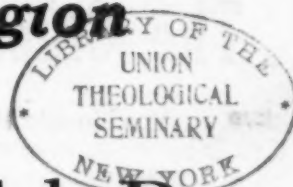


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A Journal of Religion



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Celebrating Senator Borah's Resolution Looking Toward the
OUTLAWRY OF WAR

DEC 24 1926

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EDITORIAL

FOR THE THIRD TIME, Senator Borah, on December 9, introduced in the United States senate his resolution looking toward the outlawry of war. This resolution was first introduced in February, 1923, and was, by Senator Borah's own motion, laid on the table. It was

Senator Borah Presents Again His Resolution for Outlawing War

to consider the implications of a proposal to outlaw war at that time. But the fact that the resolution was lying on the table of the senate exerted a silent but continuous stimulus upon public opinion to consider what this proposal means. In the nearly four years since the resolution was first introduced the program of the Levinson-Borah conception of isolating the institution of war from all controversies over other international matters and dealing with it directly—

hardly expected that the senate was in a frame of mind even

this conception has been fast revolutionizing the peace thinking of America. The churches, in their most representative gatherings, have passed resolutions favorable to the outlawry of war. The world alliance for international friendship through the churches, in its annual meeting in Pittsburgh in November, completely shifted its accustomed emphasis from the worn-out issues associated with the controversy over the league of nations to the outlawry of war as "the dominant and unifying ideal of all peace groups." With the old controversies steadily losing their savor in public interest, and with the outlawry proposal steadily moving toward the focus of attention, there is unusual significance attaching to the reintroduction of Senator Borah's resolution. It is now not alone a gesture on behalf of public education as to what outlawry means, but a real parliamentary act with expectation of results. The event seemed to The Christian Century so full of significance that it was worthy to fill the thought of all earnest folk at Christmas time. Therefore this issue is devoted to a special consideration of peace on earth in terms of the outlawry of war. Our pages will show the way in which the purpose to give such a Christian character to this number defined itself in the editorial mind and with what favor this purpose was received by some of the outstanding peace leaders of the world.

A Refreshing Type of Church Official

THE DEATH of David D. Forsyth removes from the ranks of American church leaders one of the most invigorating personalities of recent years. Dr. Forsyth was the secretary of the home missionary society of the Methodist church. He came to that position from years of frontier service. Both in person and in personality he suggested that sense of size, of vigor, and of freedom which is popularly supposed to be a characteristic of the west. When he came into eastern denominational headquarters he seemed to bring a fresh breeze with him, and in all the years of his service as a board secretary he never lost that atmosphere of the out-of-doors. As an executive, he measured up to extraordinary demands, but he did it so easily, with so little lost motion, and so little fanfare of trumpets, that many failed to understand how much he had done. During the period when he was in office his denomination passed through a promotional campaign of proportions

greater than has been experienced by any other communion. This brought, at the beginning, a tremendous boom in giving and hence in home mission work, only to be followed by a reaction almost as extensive. Dr. Forsyth steered his board through the boom and through the reaction with little shock. He was a staunch supporter of the efforts to protect communities against reduplication of home mission work. So far as he could influence Methodist policy in home mission territory, it was always actively on the side of interdenominational cooperation and the pooling of resources. He was one of the Methodists who declined an impending election to the bishopric two years ago. He did not fool himself or anybody else as to why he did this; frankly he stated that it was because he did not wish to take an election that would mean service on an unaccustomed foreign mission field. There was, in other words, no pretense about the man. His death is a loss to all the churches.

Bones of the Twelve Apostles Withdrawn from Sale

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, which is usually careful not to wound the sensibilities of its Catholic constituents and therefore is not easily made the victim of a hoax at their expense, reports that at the request of Cardinal Mundelein the Chicago historical society has withdrawn from a public sale conducted by the woman's auxiliary twelve cases of bones said to be those of the twelve apostles. A committee of churchmen appointed by the cardinal inspected the bones and the accompanying certificates of genuineness, and, we are told, "asserted that they had no doubt of the authenticity of the collection." Whether this absence of doubt was due to the overwhelmingly convincing character of the documentary evidence or to the overwhelming predisposition of the committee to credulity in the matter of relics, we are not informed. In the absence of any abstract of the evidence, one may form his own hypothesis. It is stated, however, that the relics—or some relics—were presented to the archbishop of Milan in 1750 by an anonymous donor, and that no one knows how they came into the collection of which they now form a part. To one who has not had opportunity for personal inspection of either the bones or the documents, it would appear that the evidence for apostolic succession in this case leaves something to be desired. Nevertheless one must heartily concur with the cardinal that relics which are even suspected of being those of the apostles will be much more appropriately placed in the vatican than in a rummage sale conducted by the woman's auxiliary.

Charge of Faked Pictures in Anti-Mexican Propaganda

THE PAPERS carried reports a few weeks ago regarding the wholesale withdrawal of deposits from the bank of Mexico by Catholics as a protest against the new laws on religion and the nationalization of church property. Doubtless there were such withdrawals. But the simple statement of the facts apparently was not considered sufficiently impressive. Liberty magazine published in its issue of Nov. 6 an article entitled "The Machete Versus the Cross"—a picturesque title, too, and one to which no objection can be

made except the trivial one that the machete has not been used against the cross. With this article was printed a picture with the title, "Catholics withdrawing deposits from the bank of Mexico in protest against the seizure of church property." Mr. Arturo M. Elias, consul-general of Mexico in New York city, sends us a copy of the same picture bearing the seal of the bank of Mexico and the signature of its managing director certifying that it is a picture of the inauguration of the bank of Mexico, Sept. 1, 1925. The slight inaccuracy in Liberty's use of the picture seems to consist in the fact that the picture was taken eleven months before the act against which the indignant public is said to be protesting, and that it shows a crowd trying to put money into the bank instead of trying to take it out. Mr. Elias says: "On the 2nd of September, 1925, the morning of the day following the opening of the Bank of Mexico, *El Demócrata*, a paper then publishing in Mexico city, published the same picture of the inauguration of the new bank that Liberty tricked the American public into believing was a picture of something entirely different. It may interest the editors of North America to know this was not the only 'faked' picture in these articles. A United States engineer operating mines in Mexico, Mr. E. R. Torgler of Cleveland, Ohio, had a letter in the New York Times of Nov. 14, charging that a picture which Liberty claimed depicted the hanging of peons in Nayarit as a result of a religious riot was in reality a hanging of bandits two years before and that he had had in his possession for over a year the identical photograph that Liberty had claimed was a picture of a recent happening." There is a current saying that "photos never lie," which may need to be modified into a form parallel to the statement that, while figures never lie, liars will figure.

Harmon Awards to Negroes for Distinguished Achievements

TWELVE CASH PRIZES totalling three thousand dollars and an equal number of gold first and bronze second medals have been awarded by the Harmon foundation to Negroes for achievements of note in various fields of art, science and social service. And, in addition, a gold medal and an award of five hundred dollars has been given to a white man of Atlanta, Ga., for conspicuous service in improving relations between white and Negro people in America. The award that has the greatest news interest is doubtless that of a first prize for work in fine arts to a colored "house-cleaning jobber" in Greenwich village, New York city. This young man, apparently without training except such as he has picked up in the course of his career as an odd-job and general cleaning man around the studios of the village, presented five oil paintings of marine scenes. Through such underground channels does artistic inspiration flow. Like the wind, it bloweth where it listeth. But other winds of uplift and awakening are blowing among the Negro people. There were awards for technical work in radio engineering, for improvements in rural schools, for a social study of the education of Negro ministers, for the development of a life insurance company, for a successful career as a building contractor, for religious and social service among native students and teachers in South Africa, and for poetry. The poetry award, naturally, went to Countee

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Cullen. And strangely enough, in music, the field which is supposed to be the special area of the Negro's only characteristic genius in art, no original creative work was submitted of sufficient merit to warrant an award. It begins to appear—it has appeared for a long time to those who were willing to see it—that, while the genius of the Negro race doubtless has certain characteristic qualities and colors of its own, it is by no means confined to picking cotton, or making down berths in a Pullman, or even to singing picturesque spirituals of haunting melody and surprising harmony, but ranges over the entire zone of culture with which individuals of that race have had contact.

Sherwood Eddy's European Seminar for 1927

MR. EDDY'S extraordinarily successful European parties during the past seven seasons have won increasing attention because they embody an unusual idea carried out with a degree of ability so remarkable as to be virtually unique in its field. In 1927 Mr. Eddy will, for the eighth time, conduct a selected group of ministers, educators, editors and other men in public life on a pilgrimage which will give opportunity for a first-hand study of European conditions and face-to-face contacts with some of the most important men who are moulding those conditions. A list of those who have lectured to this traveling seminar or given interviews to its members in the continental capitals reads like a Who's Who of Europe, and the list of those already engaged for the coming year is equally impressive. Mr. Eddy has landed almost everybody except the pope. The purpose, of course, is to influence American public opinion away from blind prejudice based on hear-say and catch-words and in the direction of goodwill based on understanding, by educating the educators. Only those who are in positions to convey what they learn to a wider circle by writing, teaching, or public utterance, are eligible for membership. The cost is low. Mr. Eddy's address is room 505, 347 Madison avenue, New York city.

Friendship With and Among Foreign Students

NEWS ITEMS about friendly relations toward foreign students in the United States and among the various national groups of these students have been frequent of late. With a little diligence in collecting the data one could perhaps match every report of a demonstration of international hostility or suspicion between foreign offices with the record of some gesture of friendship by or between these groups of academic journeymen who are preparing abroad for service in their respective home countries. Academic internationalism is leading the way. One of the significant organizations in this field is the committee on friendly relations among foreign students, with headquarters at 347 Madison avenue, New York city, which, since 1911, has been working at the double task of affording foreign students a clearing-house for the information which they need about America and assisting and encouraging other organizations to carry on friendly activities toward them. The loan fund, to mention only one service, has made student loans aggregating \$54,000, in addition to the

Russian student aid fund which has enabled several hundred refugee students to carry on their training in American colleges. Monthly bulletins are published by the Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Russian divisions of the committee. It should be remembered that the creation of friendly attitudes among these groups is as important as the establishment of such attitudes between them and us.

Passing Out the Medals

MORE PEACE AWARDS are the order of the day, which is perhaps as it should be at Christmas time. Mr. George Bernard Shaw, who receives a Nobel prize in literature, inclines to spoof the committee of award a bit by pointing out that the year for which he is rewarded is a year during which he wrote nothing. But the peace prizes are undoubtedly meant to be regarded with the utmost seriousness. How else shall we account for the Nobel medals pinned on General Dawes, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann? General Dawes, to be sure, is given his prize for a scheme of handling German reparations which is admittedly only a stop-gap, and even this scheme is generally accredited to Mr. Owen D. Young. Sir Austen Chamberlain is presumably rewarded for his first efforts to secure the Locarno treaties, rather than for his later valiant attempts, by intrigue with Spain and Italy, to upset the European apple-cart. M. Briand earns his award as an individual who can speak passionately for peace when occasion demands, and who has, all things considered, actually accomplished more to keep Europe out of another war than many another, representing a country in such a mood as has characterized France, might have done. As for Herr Stresemann, anybody who has followed his adventures on his various trips to Geneva will admit that he has won his prize by a course which would do credit to Job himself. In this country, the Woodrow Wilson foundation adds another to the list of distinguished peace makers in the person of Mr. Elihu Root. Mr. Root, we are told, gets his medal and his \$25,000 for his services in establishing the world court. As what might be called an "official" list of modern peace-makers, this collection of Dawes, Chamberlain, Briand, Stresemann and Root is of interest. No one will imagine, however, that Mars feels greatly scared after he has finished reading it.

Another Congregation Shows What It Is Thinking About

FROM TIME TO TIME these pages have reported lists of topics selected by congregations for pulpit use. These lists are always of value, as they give an insight into the questions that appear real to the contemporary church-goer. One of the most recent tests of this sort has been made by the Plymouth Congregational church of Minneapolis. The pastor, Rev. Harry P. Dewey, sought to discover, not what his congregation wished him to preach about, but what the members of the congregation wanted to have a chance to discuss themselves in their mid-week "church night" meetings. Out of a long list of questions, six were unmistakably selected as important. They were, in order: What can we as private citizens do to rid the

world of strife and crime? Are there absolute standards of right and wrong, upon which we can rely? Is there evidence that a divine providence cares for and influences us as individuals? What are the chief evidences for, and what is the practical value of, the belief in immortality? If God is all good, wise, and powerful, why should there be suffering and sin in the world? Can business success be achieved today by a man who honestly tries to apply to trade the ethics of Jesus? Some of these are old, old questions. But some of them are not so old, or they are at least not questions that have been asked much in recent generations. What, for example, would our forefathers think of the state of things when a Christian congregation selected, as the second most perplexing problem in its thinking, the question as to whether there are reliable standards of right and wrong?

The New Christmas Song

SINCE THE WORLD WAR the Christmas ideal has taken on a significance which it never possessed before. "Peace on earth" has been through all the Christian centuries a theme of song and sermon and worship, yet save for elect spirits here and there—a few prophets, philosophers and seers—the theme has exhausted itself in surface sentiment and mystic aspiration. War has always been regarded as inevitable, glorious and holy. The peace desire was chiefly a desire for the victory of "our" arms, or the removal of an imminent threat of attack which darkened the sky at the moment. That is to say, when men prayed for peace they had in mind little more than the triumphant ending of *this* war, and when they thanked God for peace they had in mind the fortunate fact that no new war was, at the moment, on the horizon. Peace was merely the ending or the absence of war. But the idea that war was part of the fixed system of things, and therefore inevitable, that it arose in some mysterious region like that from which earthquakes and floods arise, was the prevailing universal prepossession even in circles of most Christian piety.

The Christmas song was therefore an expression of comfortable or grateful emotion rather than of an understanding conscience. Even the sway of Christ over the world was to be achieved by means of war, among other providential agencies, and the crassest images of the bloody strife of battle always held an honorable place in the liturgy, hymnody and devotion of the church. Men did not hate war. They feared it; they recoiled from its horrors the while they accepted its presence as an unescapable evil. One does not hate an earthquake or a typhoon; one only fears them and cowers before them, or goes bravely to one's death in their teeth. The peace song of the Christian centuries has been a song of grateful victims who have been spared, or of trustful victims who hope to be spared, or of suppliant victims who have been caught in the inexorable toils of war.

It has been a song of victims.

But the Christmas song of today is being sung by men, not by victims. The best intelligence of the world now

plainly sees that war is a man-made institution, and, as it is made by man, that it can also be destroyed by man. Men begin to see war for what it is. It is not inevitable. It only seems so because of the ignorance and inertia of men. Its presence in the world is a shame upon human intelligence and man's moral dignity. A great purpose is therefore taking form in men's souls. They are singing the Christmas song with a new accent. It is not the accent of helpless mystical appeal for relief from the inexorable, but an imperial moral assertion that war shall be no more. "Peace on earth" is coming to mean, *Let there be peace on earth!* The conscience of modern men is being seized with the conviction that peace means not the absence of wars, or of *this* war, but the annihilation of war itself, and the establishment of a world society on the foundation of justice.

This has become most real to us since the late war. Before 1914 there had grown up a mirage of peace. There was an easy international intercourse; learning was drawing together men of goodwill and understanding in all nations; labor's class consciousness and sense of power seemed to forbid any tearing of the fabric of comradeship which was being woven across all boundaries; international finance had created for every nation a heavy stake in the maintenance of peace; commerce had enabled each people to specialize in its own congenial industry and economic function, depending confidently upon other peoples for an exchange of commodities. The world seemed never so peaceful. Examining the facade of civilization in early 1914 one would never guess that its interior structure was weak or threatened. If the league of nations could have established by this year, 1926, a degree of international goodwill and friendly intercourse and economic comfort equal to that which obtained immediately before the war, the standards of many of our peace exponents would be satisfied.

But those who look deeper know that the peace of that day was an illusion. International society was in a state of delicate equilibrium. Civil peace rested on the foundation of potential war. The bottom of society was the war system. Mars stood in the shadow of any event which marked an achievement in brotherhood or Christian idealism. And on a day he stepped imperiously into the light and took control of all our peaceful functions and forces and laid them under tribute to himself. When at last he relaxed his hold on the millions and millions of men and women and children, and moved back into the shadow, there were some who came away from his service with a strange look in their eyes. They had been told that they were fighting a war to end war. Gallantly and with full devotion they had gone forth against Mars on the day that he stepped out of the shadow into the light. Back of the strange look now in their eyes was the sense of a great new discovery: the discovery that you cannot destroy Mars by attacking him in the light; you must follow him into the shadow and destroy him there! This insight has been growing ever more clear since that day. It explains the suspicion and opposition with which certain plans presented in the name of world peace have been regarded. They left Mars always in the shadow unchallenged. Nay, more, they even proposed to employ him again in the service of peace! And men who had come away from his service with that strange look in

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their eyes—America's men—would not consent to share in such plans.

These are the men who are singing the new Christmas song. They are under no hallucinations about war. They know that a peaceful world with war in the shadow is not peace. Peace, to them, is impossible until the very institution of war is overthrown. No league of nations can function for peace with potential war in its covenant. No world court can be a court of international justice so long as war stands in the offing to take the case to its supreme arbitrament. Whatever of good Locarno means for a section of Europe, it means no more for world peace than hundreds of other military alliances have meant in past millenniums. Disarmament is a delusion and a snare so long as the war system is sacredly nurtured and protected by law.

It is this insight which makes these men with a strange light in their eyes hail the introduction of Senator Borah's resolution in the United States senate as a supreme Christmas event. It starts the new Christmas song in their hearts. They came back from the service of Mars ready to follow a statesman who should lead them not into some "plan" to prevent war, but to the place where Mars himself hides in the shadow beyond all such plans. These men are determined to get at war, at the institution of war, at the system itself, to cut it out of the legal fabric of society, to delegatize it by registering the united will of the nations against it, and by committing the honor of the nations not to resort to it. There can be no peace, they see, until this is done.

And they conceive their purpose, not in the terms of a faraway goal, but as the first and next step toward peace! The outlawry of war is not an evolution; it is an act. It requires no precedent "steps" toward league or league court or arbitration commitments or disarmament or any other "steps." Such steps are essentially irrelevant to the outlawry of war. They belong, in the last analysis, to the age-old system of diplomacy and alliances and schemes for "preventing" war. And by leaving the institution of war unchallenged in the shadow they are doomed to end as they have always ended, by Mars again stepping out of the shadow into the light and asserting his ruthless supremacy. After all the alleged "steps" have been taken, the procedure for outlawing war will still be precisely the same as if war were to be outlawed now. It would be no more easy to do it then than to do it now. It might be more difficult. For with a facade of peace again built up mankind would more easily yield to the illusion of peace and consider action unnecessary. If eventually, why not now? The will is itself the readiness.

It is not our purpose in this place to consider the technique of peace as involved in Senator Borah's resolution or in Mr. Levinson's draft treaty. The spirit and accent of the outlawry proposal and the sunlit level on which it moves—this is our editorial theme. We extend this week the hospitality of our pages to men and women of many minds, of dissimilar backgrounds, and diverse commitments. Our purpose is not propaganda, but interpretation. Among the writers there is a wide range of difference, from Professor Murray, who holds that the league of nations has no power to execute the decisions of the present court with military force, to Mr. Oggel, whose critique bears directly upon the league's possession of this power.

Such a variation in interpreting the league covenant is a vital question in American international thinking. The question arose in the senate of the United States last January in the debate on adherence to the world court protocol. A proposed reservation was under discussion to the effect that the judgments and advisory opinions of the world court "shall not be enforced by war under any name or in any form whatever." This reservation was defeated under the representation of the pro-court leader, Senator Lenroot, and other senators, that the adoption of such a reservation would compel the nations members of the league to violate their covenant in order to accept it.

We refer to it here not to clear up the point, or to take issue with Professor Murray, but to make plain that the best way to find out the real disposition of other nations as to the use of war in executing court decisions or peace terms of any sort, is to confront the nations with the simple treaty presented in this issue by Mr. Levinson. The proposal to outlaw war would be almost as significant in its failure as in its success. A negative result of this experiment would justify making the experiment. The high-flown peace rhetoric of the diplomats would thenceforth be known for the mere froth that it is. Thus the peace problem would take on a new definition, in terms of reality instead of, as now, in terms of trustful delusions.

But such reasoning is purely *ad hominem*. If the league of nations is what Professor Murray and Dr. Rappard declare it is, it will be the first to adopt the outlawry of war and work for its adoption by its member nations. No one, we believe, would rejoice more greatly than Senator Borah if Geneva should beat Washington to it! This would solve two great questions at once: the outlawry of war, and the membership of the United States in the league of nations. With war outlawed and the undemocratic structure of the league's council reformed, as it surely would be, who could stop this nation from applying for a seat at the league's conference table?

In the heart of us we all know that the nations are weary and wistfully waiting for some plan to be presented to them dissociated from the obfuscating complexities which have always inhered in any peace proposal they have yet faced. The world wants a yes or no chance to decide whether the war system should be perpetuated. What its answer to that question will be can not be a matter of doubt. It seems to us to be the very genius of Mr. Levinson's proposed treaty for the outlawry of war that it creates a yes or no situation with reference to war. It proposes that the nations shall condemn and renounce forever the use of war; that they shall do so in a universal treaty; that this treaty shall also provide for the equipment of an international court with a code of the laws of peace and with jurisdiction by which it may summon an offending nation to its bar on the complaint of an offended nation, hear the case and render its decision. There would be no supreme court of war in the shadow to take the case from such a court, nor a league of nations or other political organization to which the case might be carried after the court had rendered its judgment. The court is the end—it would be a *supreme* court! The functioning of any league or other political agency would take place *on this side of the court*, not beyond the court. The juridical institution would be supe-

prior to any political institution whatever, instead of, as in the league organization, subordinate to it.

The nations would by this solemn treaty pledge their honor that they would accept the jurisdiction of the court in all disputes (a) covered by the code, or (b) arising under treaties, and in the case of (c) disputes neither covered by the code nor arising under treaties, the nations would be in honor bound *not to go to war over them!* These could be settled, as all such disputes are settled in civil life, out of court, by the good offices of other nations or a league of nations or any other conciliating process, or left to time to settle—or not settled at all. The attempt to compel the absolute settlement of all disputes, of whatever nature, by obligatory arbitration—the popular gospel now being preached from many former pro-league and pro-court headquarters, apparently on account of the sheer lack of any other gospel—has in it the seeds of more war than peace. Some disputes not covered by the principles of equity embodied in the code of international law, nor by specific treaties, cannot be made to yield to compulsory settlement without producing war. The Borah resolution and the Levingson draft treaty, with clairvoyant insight, steer the peace ship away from that rock of destruction.

So let the new Christmas song be taken up, not at Christmas only, but with gathering volume throughout the year, until the prophet's day shall truly come when war shall be no more!

Virtues and Graces

THE CENTRAL THEME of the higher religions throughout the ages has been salvation. It is necessarily so for any individual or group which has achieved any amplitude of appreciation of the possible heights and depths of life. Salvation has many meanings, from the crudest to the most refined, but however conceived it must be a theme of central importance because it is a matter of life and death to the soul. It may seem a lapse to the level of triviality to speak in the same breath of mere graces, as though one were turning from an unfinished consideration of character to talk of etiquette. But it is not so, for even the graces are not superficial to character but integral with it. John Wesley's dictum that "cleanliness is next to godliness" has such a biblical sound that it might at least be easily mistaken for a quotation from the "epistle of straw." It is a sententious expression of the principle that the things which make one a gentleman are not altogether remote from those which make one a Christian.

The graces correspond to ornament and symmetry in architecture, while virtues are the sustaining members that carry the load. If it happens that the purpose of the edifice is as much to be beautiful as to hold up a roof and keep out the weather, symmetry and ornament may be no less essential to the fulfilment of the total purpose than structural integrity. But graces, like ornament, may be either good or bad.

It is sometimes said that all applied ornament is bad. But this is not true. Good ornament may be either structural—the beautiful and imaginative treatment of necessary ele-

ments in the building, like the flying buttresses of a gothic cathedral, or the mosaic pavement of an old Roman church, or the carved beam-end of a Mexican adobe house, or the intricate capital of a column in a Romanesque cloister—or it may be a flowering out of the spirit of the builders in decorated surfaces, like a Moorish arabesque, or a carved choir-screen, or the reliefs in the frieze of a Greek temple, or a frescoed wall in an Italian church. These latter are "applied" with reference to the building, but "structural" with reference to the builders.

Graces, too, like architectural ornament, may be either structural or applied. They are applied when they are mere surface decoration designed for the concealment of inferior materials. Did Jesus ever utter a harsher word than "thou whited wall"? What epithet ever came from his lips that so blistered as it fell? It might stand as a sweeping and desolating judgment upon superficial decoration as a substitute for structural sincerity. The forms and words of courtesy divorced from a content of kindness; the formulae of faith used to conceal a fundamental attitude of cynicism or bitterness or self-righteousness; the livery of heaven stolen to serve the devil in, tottering masonry tricked out with stucco and paint to simulate a stability and safety which it lacks—all these come under a common condemnation. They are whited walls.

But graces may also be structural. There is no absolute separation between them and the most stalwart and indispensable virtues. The architectural analogy still holds, for beauty in a building is not something that is added to it after it is built, but consists largely in a beautiful way of doing those things without the doing of which there would have been no building at all. If one is graceful in physical person, the quality is exhibited not by the performance of a special set of graceful acts, but by the graceful performance of all the ordinary and necessary movements of normal life. So the graces of Christian character are shown in the way in which one exercises one's virtues. A genuine grace is a virtue made beautiful and lovable.

The very existence of beauty in human personality and in the world as a whole is a revelation of one side of the character of God. The world is brimming with superfluous loveliness which is, in some real sense, the most necessary thing in it. Only a little of it can be explained on any ground of biological utility. The biologists tell us interesting and doubtless important things about the function of decorative plumage in male birds and brilliant coloration in flowers which must attract insects to assist in their fertilization; but the plainer species seem to get on reasonably well from generation to generation, and so do even such extreme specimens as the wart-hog and the hippopotamus. Beauty is not biologically indispensable. And what of the colors on sky and sea, the scarlet and gold of October forests, blue shadows on the snow, opal and amethystine hues of a desert twilight? Surely the God who weaves for himself such a garment must feel both pity and embarrassment when his nearest kinsmen in the universe express their characters in tactless virtue, in awkward honesty, in unlovely temperance, in ungracious justice.

Grace always involves a sense of abundance, even of superabundance. It means having strength and skill enough

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for the task, and some to spare; virtue enough to live honestly, and enough more to do it without seeming strain; justice enough to give all men their due, and something over; love enough to serve and give, and enough besides to do it gladly—St. Paul says “hilariously”—without being too much impressed with the consciousness of one’s own generosity. Grace is that sort of generous thing, free and out-pouring from hidden springs, like a fountain. There is no law compelling it; if there were, it would be ruined. St. Paul himself says, in that famous passage on “this grace also” that “I speak not by commandment.”

So no man will be saved for possessing graces, or damned for the lack of them. But they represent the margin between bare salvation (whatever that may be)—a passing grade, to speak in academic rather than the customary judicial terms—and an abundant entrance into the best that life affords. It would be incredible that God should know less about human nature than an ordinary college faculty, and every faculty knows that people would not do their best work if there were but two grades—passed and not passed. There are honors to be gained, Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude and honorable mention. There are some who just get by on commencement day and are duly presented as “hi juvenes excellentes” and get degrees and diplomas on the least possible investment of intellectual effort, while others do more than they had to do, and become richer in knowledge and culture than they had to become. Perhaps salvation is something like that.

There are some things that a man must do; law and honor require it. There are others which a man must not do; law and honor forbid. But there is a mid-region of freedom in which neither the commands nor the prohibitions of the law nor the regulations of the code of honor are operative. Within this area lie the things which no man can be criticised or condemned for doing or not doing; but the doing or not doing of them reveals the degree of fineness of his spirit. This is the region of the “second mile” and the “cloak also.” This also is the field for the operation of the graces rather than for the performance of duties. No command can enforce cheerful generosity or tactful courtesy. If they come at all, they must come, like the quality of mercy, without constraint. To give and forget it; to help a person without putting him in a humiliating bondage of enforced gratitude, and thus to give opportunity for gratitude also to become a freely exercised grace; to acquire and use the kindly art of setting at ease people who are in some position of disadvantage by reason of their own strangeness or awkwardness or because they have been the recipients of favors; to forget self without remembering too vividly one’s self-forgetfulness; to fight and serve and suffer as life demands, and do it with a smile, and never once descend to that subtle self-advertisement which says by its manner, See how I suffer and yet with what cheerfulness!—these are among the graces which both beautify and reveal character.

That has been to many an enigmatical word of Jesus, when he said, “When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.” There is another “daughter of the voice of God” less stern than

duty. The margin of spiritual profit lies beyond the field of commands, beyond the point of even moral obligation, in the area of graces freely and finely exercised.

The Day Breaks

MAN-MADE laws and doctrines pass,
Statesmanship is withered grass,
They who spoke as sovereign gods
Now are mute as lifeless clods;
Some sure voice the world must seek—
Let the gentle Teacher speak.

Thrones are fallen; justice rules;
Foolish kings are kingly fools;
Royal pomp, which craved “the sun,”
Prostrate is as Babylon.
Love shall come to power again:
Lo, the Christ stands—let him reign!

Crushed is every king and czar—
Dead as all the millions are
Whom they slew in ruthless pride,
Swelling war’s tumultuous tide.
Righteous God, the past forgive;
Kings are dead—O King Christ, live!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Gifts

A Parable of Safed the Sage

NOW CHRISTMAS was drawing nigh, and I thought of them I loved, and bought them Gifts.
And I sate me down, and Checked over my List, and I said, I have remembered them all.

And I heard, as it were, a Rustling of Straw, and a Movement as it were of Cattle in a Stall, and there came to me a Voice, as it were from a Far Distance, inquiring, Hast thou forgotten Me?

And I knew Who it was that Spake, and I said, I trust not, Lord, for I do say my Prayers twice every day, and some days more often.

And the Voice said, So said the folk of Bethlehem, who had remembered all their Friends, and paid their Temple Tax, and given freely to the Synagogue, and prayed night and day. Yet was I born in a Manger; yea, and every Christmas am I Born there. And I hear the Musick in the Churches, and the peal of the Christmas Bells, and the children caroling under the windows, God rest you merry Gentlemen, and the joy of those who receive Gifts, but I am here.

And I said, Where art thou, Lord?

And the voice said, Where mourn in sorrow and poverty the children of dead Armenian Christians, there am I. Where in China blind children grope because there is no Physician to give them sight, there am I. Where in the slums of thine own city children are born and predestined to mar God’s image by lives of shame, there am I. Even now I am numbered with transgressors.

And I said, Say no more, Lord. I am already rebuked.

But what shall I do for these? Is not my bank account already overdrawn for those I love? What have I left?

And the Voice said, So spake the folk of Bethlehem, and so speak they still.

And I said, There is in this City a Postoffice, and there is a place where they Telegraph money.

And the Voice said, Go, and do what is in thine heart.

But do it not alone on Christmas Day. Hasten to do now what thy heart doth bid thee do, but thou canst create a Christmas any day in the year for some poor child, if thou shalt behold in that little one the Christ.

And the Voice ceased, and I heard again the rustling of the Straw, and the movement of the Cattle. But I heard also some faint echoes of the Voice.

Resolution Toward the Outlawry of War

Introduced in the United States Senate, December 9, 1926

By Senator William E. Borah

WHEREAS war is the greatest existing menace to society and has become so expensive and destructive that it not only causes the stupendous burdens of taxation now afflicting our people but threatens to engulf and destroy civilization; and

Whereas civilization has been marked in its upward trend out of barbarism into its present condition by the development of law and courts to supplant methods of violence and force; and

Whereas the genius of civilization has discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, law and war, and therefore, in any plan for the compulsory settlement of international controversies, we must choose between war on the one hand and the process of law on the other; and

Whereas war between nations has always been and still is a lawful institution, so that any nation may, with or without cause, declare war against any other nation and be strictly within its legal rights; and

Whereas revolutionary war or wars of liberation are illegal and criminal; to wit, high treason; whereas, under existing international law, wars between nations to settle disputes are perfectly lawful; and

Whereas the overwhelming moral sentiment of civilized people everywhere is against the cruel and destructive institution of war; and

Whereas all alliances, leagues, or plans which rely upon war as the ultimate power for the enforcement of peace carry the seeds either of their own destruction or of military dominancy to the utter subversion of liberty and justice; and

Whereas we must recognize the fact that resolutions or treaties outlawing certain methods of killing will not be effective so long as war itself remains lawful; and that in international relations we must have, not rules and regulations of war but organic laws against war; and

Whereas in our constitutional convention of 1787 it was successfully contended by Madison, Hamilton, and Ellsworth that the use of force when applied to people collectively, that is, to states or nations, in the execution of a judicial decision, is unsound in principle and would be tantamount to a declaration of war; and

Whereas we have in our federal supreme court a practical and effective model for a real international court, as it has specific jurisdiction to hear and decide controversies between our sovereign states; and

Whereas our supreme court has exercised this jurisdiction without resort to force for one hundred and thirty-seven years, during which time scores of controversies have been judicially and peaceably settled that might otherwise have led to war between the states, and thus furnishes a practical exemplar for the compulsory and pacific settlement of international controversies; and

Whereas an international arrangement of such judicial character would not shackle the independence or impair the sovereignty of any nation, and would not involve or affect the right of self-defense against invasion or attack, such right being inherent and ineradicable, but should not be a mere subterfuge for the traditional use of war: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the view of the senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies by making it a public crime under the law of nations and that every nation should be encouraged by solemn agreement or treaty to bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers under powers similar to those conferred upon our congress under Article I, section 8, of our federal constitution which clothes the congress with the power "to define and punish offenses against the law of nations"; And be it

Resolved further, That a code of international law of peace based upon the outlawing of war and on the principle of equality and justice between all nations, amplified and expanded and adapted and brought down to date should be created and adopted.

Second. That, with war outlawed, a judicial substitute for war should be created (or, if existing in part, adapted and adjusted) in the form or nature of an international court, modeled on our federal supreme court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states; such court shall possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all purely international controversies, as defined by the code or arising under treaties, and its judgments shall not be enforced by war under any name or in any form whatever, but shall have the same power for their enforcement as our federal supreme court, namely, the respect of all enlightened nations for judgments resting upon open and fair investigations and impartial decisions, the agreement of the nations to abide and be bound by such judgments, and the compelling power of enlightened public opinion.

A Proposed Treaty to Outlaw War

The Honorable S. O. Levinson, Chairman
American Committee for the Outlawry of War
134 La Salle street
Chicago

November 27, 1926.

MY dear Mr. Levinson:

I have received from Senator Borah an intimation that he intends to re-introduce in the Senate of the United States early in December his resolution looking toward the Outlawry of War. I feel that you will agree with me that this will be an event of the greatest significance, marking as it surely will, the initiating of a constructive American policy in the cause of world peace. Whatever differences obtain in American public opinion as to the participation of the United States in the league of nations, the world court, or any of the numerous current peace proposals, I deem it of the utmost importance that America's international attitude should not be interpreted by other nations, or by ourselves, as an attitude of isolation and selfish indifference to the great problem of war and peace. In my judgment, Senator Borah's action in again offering his history-making resolution will be a powerful factor in releasing and unifying the peace purposes of our citizenship and in directing these purposes toward the great goal of abolishing the hideous war system from the world.

You and I believe, with Senator Borah, that there is only one way to rid the world of war, and that is by a direct, frontal attack upon the institution of war as such. This conception of the task is rapidly becoming the dominant motive in all our American peace groups. It is inspiring to observe how eagerly and intelligently the many peace organizations and the various church bodies in this country are adopting the outlawing of war as the solving ideal for world peace. Every other proposal is manifestly slipping away from the center of public interest to make room for this comprehensive, uncompromising proposal which was born in your brain and which I believe is the only plan which holds any hope of saving our civilization. With Senator Borah's resolution again before the senate we may expect that it will receive from public opinion an understanding and support far beyond that accorded it when he first offered it in 1923.

In the light of developments since this historic document was originally offered, we have today an unmatched opportunity to mobilize the thought and purpose of America and of other nations on behalf of world peace. It is my earnest wish that The Christian Century may do its full share. To this end Dr. Hutchinson and my other colleagues on the editorial staff unite with me in the desire to make the Christmas number of The Christian Century a special Peace Number, dedicated to the Prince of Peace, and featuring Senator Borah's great proposal. We have decided to ask a number of the most prominent peace advocates in America, England, Switzerland and perhaps other countries to contribute articles of hope and conviction on the outlawry of war, and, in addition, we propose to send this Christmas number of The Christian Century to the leading statesmen, publicists, ecclesiastics and peace advocates of all

the nations of the world. This will be our grateful contribution to the cause which I believe the offering of Senator Borah's resolution will bring into the focus of world attention.

I write now to request you to share in this undertaking in a specific way. The Borah resolution is appropriately framed for registering the conviction of the United States senate, and through it the American people, in favor of the outlawry of war by international treaty. Rightly enough, it does not undertake to formulate the terms of such a treaty. I believe that the tentative formulation of such a treaty, for purposes of suggestion, would be an immense help in illuminating the entire proposal. As you well know, the idea of outlawing war has been much misunderstood, and the term has been widely misapplied to schemes which entirely miss its real meaning. But the concept is at once so simple and so profound that, in my judgment, the treaty which would carry it into world-wide execution can be formulated in a very few words. It was in your mind that the proposal to abolish war by outlawing it first took form. I naturally, therefore, turn to you for the draft of a possible treaty which, in your judgment, adequately embodies the principles which Senator Borah has formulated in his senate resolution. Will you do this for The Christian Century—and accompany it with a message of interpretation which we can publish, together with your draft treaty, in this Christmas number? Our indebtedness to you for this cooperation will be most profound.

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON,
Editor, The Christian Century.

Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison
Editor, The Christian Century
Chicago

MY dear Dr. Morrison:

I am of course delighted to respond to the request which you make in your letter of Nov. 27. In my judgment you have splendidly described the unique opportunity created for the peace forces of the world by the re-offering of Senator Borah's resolution for the outlawry of war. It is hard for me to imagine how any normal human being can do otherwise than give his approval to the proposal to rid the world of war by first casting it out of the legal system of mankind under which it has been sheltered for immemorial ages, and then establishing in its place an institution of law and justice beyond which the nations of the world solemnly agree to take no appeal.

I have given my best thought to the request contained in your letter. You have asked me to carve out of the Borah resolution to outlaw war a short and simple treaty suitable for submission to all the nations. The subject is so vital and far-reaching that it seems to me you are almost asking me to try, at least in respect of brevity, to do for world peace what the Lord's Prayer does for the human soul. In such a task the overwhelming sense of humility

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is somewhat offset by the desire to make some contribution, however slight, to the solution of the greatest unsolved problem of the world.

I am therefore submitting a form of general treaty in compliance with your request. I do not attempt therein to anticipate the numerous suggestions of additional provisions which might have been incorporated. But if this brief draft of a treaty succeeds in summarizing the indispensable elements in the basis of peace, distilled from the Borah resolution, the further details of development and structure, whose vast importance I freely admit, should be wisely left to a world convention called for that purpose. With considerable diffidence I offer the following:

DRAFT TREATY TO OUTLAW WAR

We the undersigned nations of the world hereby condemn and abandon forever the use of war as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and for the enforcement of decisions and awards of international tribunals, and hereby outlaw the immemorial institution of war by making its use a public crime as the fundamental law of nations. Subtle and fatal distinctions between permissible and nonpermissible kinds of war are blotted out; the institution of war is thus outlawed, as the institution of dueling has been outlawed; but the question of genuine self-defense, with nations as with individuals, is not involved or affected by this treaty. In order to provide a complete and pacific substitute for the arbitrament of war, we hereby agree to take immediate action for the equipment of an international court of justice with a code of the laws of peace, based upon equality and justice between all nations. With war outlawed and the code approved and ratified, the court shall be given jurisdiction over all purely international disputes as defined and enumerated in the code or arising under treaties, with power to summon in a defendant nation at the petition of a complaining nation and to hear and decide the matters in controversy. We hereby agree to abide by and in full good faith to carry out the decisions of such international tribunal. The judicial system thus established, being a complete substitute for the outworn and destructive war system, will enable the nations to adopt far-reaching and economically vital programs of disarmament.

(Signatures of the Nations.)

In accordance with your suggestion, I beg to add a few words in comment. This treaty proposes a simple, direct and uncompromisable attack on the traditional institution of war. It proposes to the nations for the first time in human history to cut the roots of war's legal and institutional status, as the only way to destroy this untamed monster of civilization.

The gist of the treaty is that it turns the full power of international law against the war system. The principle underlying the outlawry of war is this: *The law should always be on the moral side of every question.* But the law of nations has always been on the wrong side of the war issue. International law has continued to recognize, shelter, protect and reenforce the legal status of war until war has become the most lawful thing in civilization. For, what with laws of conscription, martial laws and espionage acts, every one who impedes in the slightest degree the operations of war is a criminal.

The dire effect of our present situation is plainly seen, for example, on our ministers of religion. They are all morally against war, but because it is legal multitudes of ministers find no way to oppose it. Thus we have the sad spectacle of the conflict between morality and law as shown on the international canvas. The law which should condemn and stigmatize evil, actually embraces and nurtures it, and thereby thwarts the moral will of civilization.

Being unspeakably evil, war's moral status cannot be changed, but its legal status can be and must be changed.

International law has wholly failed to be on the moral side of the war question. Not until the will of mankind throws the irresistible weight of the majesty of the law on the moral side, by destroying war's institutional status, by condemning and outlawing it, will this plague of plagues, which has baffled and shamed religion and civilization, ever be exterminated.

No halting, feeble, half-way measures will serve; no resolutions or protocols prohibiting the use of certain weapons of war can rise above the folly of self-deception; war cannot be regulated or controlled, for it makes its own ruthless laws which respect neither God nor man; therefore war must not be compromised with, but its entire system, with its warp of force and its woof of death, must be uprooted, overthrown, outlawed—abolished.

Very truly yours,

S. O. LEVINSON.

Publishers' Note

THE ABOVE correspondence is self-explanatory. Copies of the letters together with Senator Borah's resolution were sent to some twenty leading peace advocates in America and abroad asking them to comment on the situation thus created. Their responses form the main text of this issue of *The Christian Century*. It is the purpose of the publishers to send this Christmas number to the leading statesmen, publicists, and peace-thinking churchmen in all civilized countries of the world.

Meanwhile, provision is being made for a sufficiently large printing of this issue to meet the extra requirements of our regular readers. Without doubt there will be demands for bundles of five, ten, twenty and perhaps hundreds of copies for free distribution in churches, women's clubs, legislatures, peace assemblies and such groups. We desire to cooperate to the fullest extent in making these available. Accordingly, the regular price for non-subscribers' copies, when ordered in bundles of five or more, will be reduced from 15 cents to 10 cents per copy. It is important that such orders be sent early, before the supply is exhausted.

A special word of invitation to those non-subscribers into whose hands this copy of *The Christian Century* falls, will not be regarded as out of place. It is our desire, naturally, to send you not only this copy, but many more! We call your attention to the special offer on page 1611 by which a new subscription may be coupled with the purchase of a great book at an attractively reduced price for the two. Or if you prefer an "acquaintance" subscription, just send a one-dollar bill or your check for one dollar, with your address and the paper will be sent you for thirteen weeks.

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America's Responsibility

By John Dewey

THE "PRACTICAL IDEALISM" of the United States has perhaps assumed a pharisaical tinge due to over-advertising. Like another fine thing and fine word, "service," it has been cheapened by the use to which it has been put by self-seekers and by those who grab at any idealistic phrase which is current in order to advance any cause in which they are interested. Nevertheless there is an immense fund of goodwill and desire to be of help to those in need diffused among the American people. This is no especial credit to us; it would be a shame were it otherwise. It was born of pioneer conditions, fostered by the mobility of life and the need of improvising cooperative adjustments to meet new conditions, and is demanded by the amplitude of our resources on account of which so many are raised above the pressure of personal need. Much of the energy which in other countries drives along political channels goes in this country in voluntary unions devoted to the public welfare.

CAUSES OF AMERICAN ALOOFNESS

This fund of goodwill, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, still exists with respect to international affairs. There are definite causes for our attitude of aloofness from European struggles and problems. Large portions of our population migrated here in order to escape ills of one sort or another from which they suffered across the sea. They wanted to get away mentally and morally as well as physically; they still want to forget. In a pinch they are for their old country as against some other country, but in general they are anti-European. The diversity of our immigrant population is another factor. There is hardly a national group which has not a tradition of fear, suspicion, hostility toward some other European nation which is its historic enemy. One of the conditions required in order that these different groups may live in amity on this side of the water is that there should have been a tacit agreement to put European questions in the background, to leave them alone as far as possible. Otherwise our politics and our social life would have continued and repeated all the historic strifes of Europe.

Physical distance inevitably carries with it a certain amount of psychological isolation. The mass of people occupied with the things which have to be done in their daily life have little leisure and little call to give much thought to affairs going on in remote places. All the forces of self-preservation work automatically against mixing in matters, especially political ones, which are so far away as to be beyond adequate knowledge, not to say beyond control. Minding one's own business is a form of conduct that commends itself even more nationally than domestically. Consider how close the British isles are to the continent of Europe, and yet how her whole traditional policy up to very recent years has made in the direction of isolation. Isolation is not a high ideal but it denotes a better state of things than one of meddling which involves the meddler in unpleasant complications and does no one else any good in

the end. There is something humorous in the rebukes and advice freely handed out to Americans regarding the selfishness and futility of American isolation, in view of the century old similar policies of Great Britain in spite of her much closer and more numerous contacts.

THE WAR AS AN EDUCATIONAL FACTOR

Even such a cursory summary as these remarks would be woefully incomplete were there not mentioned the disillusionments following the war. The outcome of the war served as an enormous political education; I do not say a complete or adequate one. But the prevalent feeling of having been fooled—prevailing even among those who think we would have to do the same thing over under like circumstances, only in a different spirit—together with the withdrawal which accompanies this feeling, is not a mere emotional gesture due to temporary fatigue and disgust. It is attended with a much greater knowledge than the American people had before of the realities of European racial and economic rivalries, political intrigues and diplomatic methods. Few have taken the trouble to go into the details of the discussion of war guilt. But great masses of people are convinced that the war merely reflected the European state of mind and of politics. They see, in spite of Locarno and one or two other favorable occurrences, no marked sign that the state of the European mind and politics has undergone any change, save such as is due to exhaustion. Fundamentally the attitude of aloofness is due to a determined aversion to mixing in the complications of European strife, intrigue and mutual treacheries. There is a natural aversion to experiencing the troubles incident to getting mixed up with such a situation. But there is more than that. There is a firm belief that the whole American situation and tradition in international matters is radically diverse from the European system.

TWO SYSTEMS

This need not imply that we think we are morally better. Admission that present Europeans are not to blame for what they have inherited, nor we deserving because of what we have inherited, does not affect the fact. That fact is the important thing, and the fact is that the two systems are different. The notion that we can really be of help to Europe by joining in their affairs on terms that are set by their unhappy international and diplomatic heritage seems to me silly. We shall simply be drawn in, and our system assimilated to theirs.

What has been said may be taken superficially as a justification of a policy of isolation on our part. The intention is wholly different. A few of the causes of the tendency toward isolation have been stated. Even should one regard them all as evil—which they certainly are not—they exist as facts and help determine the situation. Any realistic thinker, one who wishes not just to be idealistic in his private inner consciousness but to see ideals carried out, must take them into account. They stand as a solid block against

certain methods which are most urged upon us as methods of cooperating with European recovery and of assisting the cause of world peace. The efforts in question come from many high-minded and devoted men and women. But they are pathetic. The whole set and movement of American affairs dooms them to disappointment. The fact that the conscious fund of American idealism with respect to international friendship has gone so largely into such impossible channels is a large part of the explanation of why the genuine practical idealism of the American people has remained latent and ineffective.

Thus we come to the real purpose of the statement regarding the causes of American aloofness. Upon what terms and along what lines can American sentiment, belief and action be mobilized in behalf of the supreme cause of international understanding and goodwill? The attempt to force them into channels which are opposed to their very nature results only in increasing aloofness, in promoting indifference, or even antagonism. The campaign for the league court, and its fate, should demonstrate this fact to any persons with open eyes. It is a pity, a tragedy, to see so much potential energy for good go to waste because of misdirection, while so much more potential energy, which might be roused into activity for international peace, remains passive and inert.

EUROPE AND AMERICA

I am accordingly addressing an appeal to those who have been actively and energetically concerned with bringing Europe and the United States together in behalf of world peace and amity. Why not search for a method and agency of operation which calls into play all the actual and latent practical idealism of the country? Why not seek means which are in accord with American tradition and outlook, measures whose consequences do not involve getting implicated in the heritage of European war politics, and which will afford Europe an opportunity to free herself from that incubus? Is there anything the United States can do for Europe half as important as to share in emancipating her from the legalized war system? It is not just the results of the last war which weigh down Europe, which reduce her, which threaten her civilization. It is even more the prospects of the next war, and the next. It is the war system. Relieved from that dead weight and overhanging menace, no one believes that Europe has not enough resources—material, intellectual, moral—to recover herself, and become a leader in the friendly rivalry of civilizations. Anything which we do or can do that serves in whatever way, direct or indirect, closely or remotely, to perpetuate the war system, is a disservice to Europe. Let the practical idealism of the United States do for Europe the one thing that Europe most needs and the one thing which is most in harmony with American tradition and aspirations, and in time all other needed things will be added.

The search for such a method and agency would quickly reach its mark. It is already at hand. It is embodied in the resolution of Senator Borah and the suggested treaty of Mr. Levinson. I have yet to hear an objection which did not boil down to a conviction that the proposal does not meet European conditions, that it ignores the past conflicts of the European states and the crying demand of these states for

guarantees and security. Well, that is just the glory of the scheme. It is remote from *existing* political conditions in Europe, which are at once the fruit of the war system and the seeds of future war. Any other scheme than the outlawry of war in basing its guarantees upon force is a guarantee of war. Any security that rests upon the threat of war assures war. As far as the argument implies that Europe is so wedded by its past to the war system that it will neither help itself nor be helped by others out of it, it proves too much. If Europe is determined upon suicide nothing can be done. But the adoption of such a pessimistic attitude is unjustified. It will remain unjustified until the United States has put itself squarely behind the outlawry of the war-system, has made clear the terms upon which Europe and the United States can cooperate for peace and in peace, and has then been refused by Europe.

The first responsibility rests with this country. It must first commit itself by the adoption of the Borah resolution and of the measures that are sequels to it. In spite of all the enthusiasm the idea has aroused, it is not yet committed. If the committal is delayed, the responsibility will not lie wholly upon those who are indifferent to the rest of the world and to the ties which bind us to it, nor wholly upon those who are skeptical about the possibility of lasting peace and goodwill among nations, nor upon those who accept war as the final arbiter of national disputes. It will rest in some measure with those impractical idealists who waste and divert the energies of the country upon projects which will never appeal to the citizenship of the country. There is such a thing as knowing so much about the details of the European situation that the mind is held enslaved by them and thinks in terms of the European tradition and system, proposing a mitigation here and a palliation there. There are times and places where a basic point of view and a broad outlook are demanded, and where attention to the trees forbids a sight of the jungle. The sole fundamental issue is the outlawry or the perpetuation of the war system.

Thy Sea So Great

THY sea, O God, so great,
My boat so small.
It cannot be that any happy fate
Will me befall
Save as Thy goodness opens paths for me
Through the consuming vastness of the sea.

Thy winds, O God, so strong,
So slight my sail.
How could I curb and bit them on the long
And salty trail,
Unless Thy love were mightier than the wrath
Of all the tempests that beset my path.

Thy world, O God, so fierce,
And I so frail.
Yet, though its arrows threaten oft to pierce
My fragile mail,
Cities of refuge rise where dangers cease,
Sweet silences abound, and all is peace.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON.

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From the League's Point of View

By Gilbert Murray

I AM DELIGHTED to hear of Mr. Borah's resolution on the outlawry of war, and feel sure that those who work with me in the cause of international understanding will welcome the resolution as warmly as I do. At present the world is in a rather strange position. Practically all civilized nations except Russia and the United States have bound themselves by strict covenants of peace. The fifty-two members of the league are pledged never to attack any nation, whether member of the league or not, and to submit all disputes to arbitration, judicial settlement or, in the last resort, to informal conciliation. They are even bound, if invited, to defend the United States or Russia against any member of the league which should attack either of them without submitting the case to arbitration.

And meantime those two nations have retained, except for certain special bi-lateral treaties, their freedom to attack anybody at any moment for any reason which may seem good to their governments. This is a lop-sided if not actually a dangerous situation; and a resolution by the American senate that war should be outlawed and made a crime under the law of nations would considerably improve it. For myself I am heartily in favor of such a resolution; one to the same effect, though somewhat differently worded, has more than once been passed by the assembly of the league. If Senator Borah saw his way to add some declaration to the effect that the government of the United States would not aid, comfort or abet any nation guilty of the crime of war-making, and would use reasonable precautions to see that its citizens did not do so, he would have removed from the world a very real ground of apprehension and done an incalculably great service to peace.

As to the proposed punishment of offenders by the nation itself, I have no comment to make and certainly no objection.

Resolution 2 proposes that "a code of international law be created and adopted." By all means; but this will be a long and difficult business, as the league committee dealing with this question has already found. I am therefore dead against any proposal to postpone the creation or acceptance of the permanent international court until international law shall have been codified. The British and American common law has not been codified, but our courts work.

THE COURT

The resolution proceeds: "That a court modelled on the supreme court of the United States . . . be formed." This to a large extent has already been done; and the permanent international court has functioned for six years with unbroken success and earned the confidence of all the nations adhering to it. I find a widespread impression in the United States that the decisions of the court, as at present constituted, are enforceable by war or some similar use of force. This is a complete mistake. The court has no force except moral force, and its decisions have never been questioned. The rule is: "In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the council shall propose what steps

should be taken to give effect thereto." This means remonstrance, diplomatic pressure or the like. The only mention of war in such a connection is in article 4 of the protocol: "Should a state in disregard of the above undertakings resort to war, the sanctions provided for in article 16 of the covenant shall immediately become applicable": That is, if a nation disobeys the court, the league remonstrates with it; if it disobeys and resorts to war, the league stops it by force. The league never contemplates for a moment using war as an instrument for enforcing decisions or recommendations.

Thus I bless without reservation the Borah resolution.

Next comes Mr. Levinson's proposed international treaty. This needs greater care, and I must say at once what I am sure Mr. Levinson will accept, that the wording and detailed provisions of any such treaty must be carefully considered and agreed to by an international conference. I am sure he would not propose to dictate terms to the world; no peace-lover would. I therefore assume that the exact wording is subject to revision, and concern myself only with the general substance.

THE DRAFT TREATY

With the first paragraph: "We the undersigned nations of the world do hereby condemn and abandon forever the use of war as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and for the enforcement of decisions and awards of international tribunals, and hereby outlaw the immemorial institution of war by making its use a public crime as the fundamental law of nations," I warmly agree.

Second paragraph: "Subtle and fatal distinctions between permissible and non-permissible kinds of war are blotted out: the institution of war is thus outlawed, as the institution of dueling has been outlawed; but the question of genuine self-defense, with nations as with individuals, is not involved or affected."

The purpose here, I take it, is to destroy the last vestige of war's legal and institutional status, and at the same time not to make a criminal of a nation which, if actually and wantonly attacked, defends itself. To this I heartily agree, and it is my sincere judgment that the league has been moving along similar lines. For example, the league says: "Aggressive war is a crime against the international community and we hereby pledge ourselves never to be guilty of that crime; but to defend the peace of the world against a peace-breaker, is legitimate." I think there is agreement in substance, also, that the league would consider any air-tight provision and that agreement in phrasing could be attained by discussion. I myself consider most excellent the proposal outlined in the protocol in this regard: All war is forbidden; if war breaks out, the league orders both parties to stop fighting, to retire behind their frontiers and to submit the dispute to peaceful settlement; if one of them disobeys and continues fighting, he is the aggressor and the criminal.

Next paragraph: As to the court, see above. It already exists. But I should fully support the proposal to give the court "the power to summon a defendant nation at the petition of a complaining nation." That was proposed in the protocol, and is provided, for those nations that wish it, in the "optional clause" (Cl. 36) of the court statute, which has been adopted by some twenty-odd nations. But if *affirmative* jurisdiction is as claimed, an added power, namely, the power to summon in a defendant nation and to proceed to trial and judgment, I warmly commend it.

Next: as to disarmament, I thoroughly agree.

THE WILL TO PEACE

Thus I not only accept the principles laid down by Senator Borah; I think they are both consistent with the covenant and the practice of the league, and in some respects represent improvements desired and advocated by many delegates in the council and assembly. Of course I do not for a moment suggest, nor do I suppose that Mr. Levinson would suggest, that these agreements form a substitute for the great international machinery operated by the league of nations, or that the members of the league would contemplate for a moment abandoning the league, to which we owe such enormous benefits. But there is no reason that nations should quarrel, or refuse to make peace treaties, because one is outside the league and the rest inside.

The most important comment I should like to make on

the proposals in general is this: Peace treaties and international courts are all very well; but they will not act until you get in the separate nations some approach to an international state of mind. The nations in general are, I fear, not yet fully ready habitually to respect one another's rights and wishes, and to accept legal decisions which go against them. Even those inside the league are not yet perfectly educated in this respect, but they have made extraordinary progress. The success of the league in Europe can be measured by three things: the habitual acceptance by all nations of the court decisions; the Locarno agreements, establishing permanent peace, with arbitration of all differences, between the great age-long enemies, France and Germany; and by the cordial relations which are now normal between the various governments. And these improvements are, I consider, chiefly due, not to any treaties or documents, but to the fact that the foreign ministers or prime ministers of some fourteen nations meet regularly every six weeks, assisted by a permanent international staff of secretaries.

Treaties abolishing war are not enough; to obtain real peace the nations need mutual respect, confidence and cooperation. But if in certain parts of the world these important qualities are not yet forthcoming, by all means let us begin by a thoroughgoing "all-in" treaty for the outlawing of war. When war is off the map many other good results will follow.

The Simplicity of Outlawry

By John Haynes Holmes

THOMAS HUXLEY tells us that, when Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared, he was astonished at the simplicity of the idea which was therein presented. "In 1857," he says, "I had no answer [to the question of evolution], and I do not think that any one else had. A year later, we reproached ourselves with dullness for being perplexed. . . . My reflection when I first made myself master of the central idea of the 'Origin' was, 'How extremely stupid not to have thought of that!'"

I imagine that this is the feeling of us all when we first encounter a creative idea, a suggestion that cuts to the core of a tangled problem. It certainly was my feeling when the concept of outlawry as applied to war first swept through my mind. This concept came, as Huxley says that Darwin's doctrine came to the minds of his generation, as a "flash of light, which to a man who has lost himself in a dark night, suddenly reveals a road which, whether it takes him straight home or not, certainly goes his way."

CONTROLLING WAR

Here for centuries men had recognized the evil of war and tried to get rid of it. Beginning with Hugo Grotius, they had put it strictly under the control of law, to the end of defining its functions, limiting its area, mitigating or repressing altogether its horrors. They had decreed that war must be fought in a certain way—with due respect for

treaties, with due protection for neutrals and non-combatants, with weapons not too destructive or barbarous in their operation. It could be declared only after diplomatic negotiations had failed, and in settlement only of certain decisive issues involving territorial integrity or national honor. A great mass of law, comprising the larger part of so-called international law, had grown up as constituting the *leges belli*, or code of war.

This business of fighting between the nations, in other words, had become as precise, polite and punctilious as the *code duello*. A nation had to be scrupulously careful in the use of arms to see that it did not violate the accepted conventions, and thus fall under the condemnation of the conscience of mankind. But meanwhile war remained the apparently inevitable, the indubitably glorious thing it had always been. And under this careful legal guardianship, it flourished more terribly than ever! Wars multiplied in number, widened in area, used ever more destructive weapons of attack. At last, in the world war, the system of control exploded, so to speak, and carried us back, in one black night of horror, to those days of chaos and savagery from which society thought it had been rescued forever.

Immediately at the close of this conflict, men set themselves once again to the old task of putting war in bonds, this time in bonds that would not break. So new regulations were forged (the league of nations), new alternative

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devices set up (the world court), new restrictions laid upon arms and military operations (the Washington treaties). But what chance was there that these would hold? Had not war become a vaster thing than men could handle? Were not the militarists right, perhaps, in saying that there was nothing to do but to prepare for the inevitable? Was there any hope for peace save that desperate hope in "education," which Mr. Wells, for example, offered as the only contender in the race with "catastrophe"? Out of this despair, or fear, has sprung the disillusionment so characteristic of our time. For where is the assurance that what men have failed to do in the past, they can suddenly do now, by education or any other means, in the infinitely more complex and difficult conditions of the present day?

It was under the stress of this disillusionment when there seemed to be no answer to the dilemma of war, as there was no answer in 1857 to the biological dilemma of the origin of species, that Mr. S. O. Levinson came along with his idea of outlawry. The simplicity of his idea, as of every great idea, is startling, and also humiliating; it is so obvious!

There is no ending of war in this method of regulation which we have been following these many centuries, and are still following today. No laws of war, however numerous and severe, will ever destroy war which is itself recognized, protected and sanctified by the very existence of these laws. Nothing that man has ever done through his international law has ever shaken the position of war as the established method of settling disputes between nations. On the contrary, everything that man has done through his international law has only tended to strengthen this position of war as the recognized and established arbiter of national destinies. We have taken war over into our social system; we have interwoven it into the pattern of our international life; we have legalized it, and thus institutionalized it. We have made it, in other words, the accepted way of doing a certain thing.

CHANGE WAR'S STATUS

No. We must "right about face"! We must do what has never been done, or even suggested, before—namely, make a frontal attack upon war by banning it altogether as a recognized social process. From the status of an institution it must be changed into the status of a crime. It must be abolished by a solemn agreement, in terms of a universal treaty between states, that war is a legal as well as a moral offense against mankind, and therefore an act forbidden by the law of nations. War, in other words, must be outlawed—not certain of its methods, not the worst of its weapons, not the cruelest of its barbarities, but the thing itself, *war*! This means that a new international law must be written—a law or code in which war shall not be defined, regulated and restricted and thereby incidentally established and protected, but shall be denounced, outlawed, and thereby banished as the worst of crimes from all human relations. This means, also, that in place of war, as a method of settling disputes between states, shall be established a world court of inherent and affirmative jurisdiction by which disputes shall be heard and decided peaceably. The method of force, in other words, shall be ended between nations as it has long since been ended between individuals, and by the same pro-

cedure, namely, by abolishing war (the duel) as a crime, and then annulling the laws of war (the *code duello*) and establishing in their place a new law which shall be at once a social procedure and moral sanction of peace.

Here is a new idea, and with it a new age! This idea is not, as some people imagine, a mad endeavor to accomplish at one fell swoop, so to speak, what men have hitherto been trying to achieve slowly by the step-by-step method of advance. It is a fresh beginning, a deliberate heading in a new direction, a reversal or overturn of the whole philosophy and statesmanship of pacifist reform. Neither is this idea, as has been charged, some fantastic vagary, untested by experience. On the contrary, it is an almost painfully obvious application to the war problem of precisely the same device which ended infanticide, chattel slavery, piracy, duelling, and the saloon. What the conscience had condemned as a wrong, the law outlawed, and therewith ended, as a crime. Nor is it to be supposed that this idea is some kind of dramatic gesture which is expected to end war as by the waving of a wand. It is no more such a gesture than the laws against murder, burglary, forgery, and incest. On the contrary, it is an example on a vast scale of the simple social practise of enacting law as the judgment and weapon of the community against an evil which must be destroyed because it cannot be tolerated.

LAW ON THE SIDE OF PEACE

What outlawry does is to give us the conditions under which war can at last be fought successfully. The trouble up to the present time has been that the pacifist has never had a chance to accomplish his end because he was fighting against the established law of nations, whereas the militarist has had every chance because he was fighting with this law upon his side. The peace-maker has never been able to be anything other than a futile agitator and on occasion a traitor, because he was the assailant of the established international order, whereas the war-maker has always been the patriot and hero because he was the defender of this order. All the law of the world in 1914 was on the side of the kaisers and the czars and the Poincarès and the Churchills, and against the Rollands and the Morleys and the Woodrow Wilsons. Now reverse these relations! Put the law of nations on the side of the peace-maker and not the war-maker, cast the militarist in prison for urging war instead of the pacifist for opposing war, and things will verily begin to change. Here is the true magic of outlawry—it establishes by law a world ordered in terms of peace, and thus friendly and not hostile to the works of peace.

It is hard to imagine, as Mr. Levinson says, "how any normal human being can do otherwise than give his approval to the proposal to rid the world of war by casting it out of the legal system of mankind." Ages hence our children's children will look back in amazement that this idea was so slow in coming, and met with opposition or indifference when first proposed. Senator Borah's resolution and Mr. Levinson's treaty, proclaimed this day in these columns, combine to open a new chapter in the story of mankind. I am not at all sure that this year 1926 will not come in the future to hold that epochal place in the history of international peace, which the year 1857 has come to hold in the history of natural science.

A Promoter and Preventer of Peace

By William E. Rappard

AS I SEE THE COURSE of human events, no country during the last ten years has done more than the United States both to promote and to prevent the establishment of permanent peace in the world. The United States has promoted peace first by bringing the great war to a close before the complete and final exhaustion of what is best in European civilization. It has promoted peace, secondly, by securing the victory of those nations which, whatever the truth concerning the complex origins of the war, were more attached to peace than their aggressors. It has promoted peace, thirdly, by throwing its tremendous political influence on the side of justice in the settlement of the peace terms. Not that these terms, such as they are, seem ideally just; they would have been much harsher and more contrary to the principles of impartial self-determination had the ambitions of the European victory not been restrained by the persistent and powerful, although unfortunately not always decisive, will of the American delegation in Paris in 1919. The United States has promoted peace, fourthly, because it is due primarily to the efforts of an American President that the world for the first time in history has been endowed with constitutional means which, if wisely, fairly and courageously applied, may still assure the triumph of peace and justice over violence in international relations. The United States has promoted peace, finally, by initiating and conducting to a successful conclusion the first great cooperative enterprise for the limitation and reduction of armaments.

A GOOD RECORD

This is a very great and very fine record of achievement. It is one of which every citizen of the United States, to whatever creed or party he may belong, has the right to be proud. It should never be lost sight of by liberal and progressive Europeans who today are sometimes prone to accuse America of narrow and reactionary self-isolation. If there were nothing to be added to, or rather subtracted from, this record, I do not believe that any nation could claim ever to have done so much in the course of ten years for the improvement of international relations and the promotion of world peace. Unfortunately, there is another chapter in the history of recent foreign policy of the United States which, if it does not in the least justify the abuse indulged in by some publicists, may explain the deep regret with which that policy is considered in many European quarters. In summing up this chapter as I have read it from day to day during the last few years, I shall be as frank and free as I have been in my preceding statements. It may seem—in fact it is—extremely presumptuous for an unofficial private individual in one of Europe's smallest countries to express an unfavorable opinion on any aspect of the foreign policy of the most powerful state in the world. My only excuse is that I have been urgently invited to state my views by the eminent editor of *The Christian Century* and that my views have at least the merit of being consciously influenced by no national or other special interest.

They may very well be quite valueless. If they were not sincere, they certainly would be valueless. I therefore hope that I may be allowed to speak without reserve.

THE OTHER SIDE

America, as I see it, has been almost as effective in retarding the peaceful organization of international relations as she has been effective in promoting it. By her deliberate inaction she has to a large extent neutralized the magnificent possibilities of her own action, having contributed more than any one else to the reconstruction of the safest and fastest road to peace through the jungle of international anarchy. She has discouraged others from walking in it wholeheartedly by refusing to do so herself. She has not only delayed progress, but allowed the dangerous underbrush of suspicion and intrigue to encroach upon the road which has become correspondingly less safe and less inviting for herself and for others. In this interdependent, shrinking, dynamic world of the twentieth century, national isolation, especially on the part of a great power, is a dangerous policy for all. There are, and there will be, even more international relations. In order to be pacific relations they cannot indefinitely continue to develop without political coordination. Conference and cooperation must prevail if conflict is to be avoided. The more continuous the conference, the closer the cooperation; the greater also the mutual confidence and the less the danger of friction. On a busy, narrow street crossing it is not the man who feels most independent and least willing to rub shoulders with his neighbors who least obstructs the traffic and most seldom occasions accidents. The bigger the man, no matter how friendly and pacific his disposition, the greater the obstruction and risk of collision. The world is yearly growing busier and narrower. All must therefore join in regulating the traffic and in complying with the common traffic regulations.

APPROVES BORAH PROGRAM

Those of us Europeans who know best how fair and how generous is the American outlook, and those of us who are least seeking for special advantages in the turmoil of international affairs most sincerely deplore the present absence of America from the councils of the world which she did more than anyone to set up. That is why we also look with particular hope and confidence to all such movements in America as that which Senator Borah initiated in 1923 and is conducting with renewed vigor today. Outlawry of war may not in the intentions of all good folk who use the phrase imply a definite practical policy. As the motto of a moral aspiration, however, tending towards the absolute condemnation of injustice and violence in international affairs, it is clear enough. In order that war may be not only outlawed in the minds of all civilized men and women, but effectively abolished in fact, it is necessary that it should first thus be imperatively outlawed—necessary, but not sufficient. As I read Senator Borah's proposal, he is not con-

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tent to outlaw war in the abstract. He recommends the positive organization of peace and the creation of a judicial substitute for war. He would organize peace on the basis of an all-inclusive legal modification of legitimate international relations. He would set up a world court which would propose the settlement of all international disputes in the light of the legal principles thus laid down. He would then rely upon the compelling power of public opinion for the enforcement of the decisions of such a court as a basis for action.

AN ADMIRABLE PROGRAM

This program strikes me as truly admirable. It implies, of course, continuous international conference for the discussion and settlement by the unanimous decision of all the nations of the world of countless and constantly changing questions of international concern. This is a great necessary task which, although begun long ago and pursued with particular vigor since the foundation of the league of nations, is yet very far from being complete. In fact, it cannot ever be complete, any more than the work of national legislatures of the world can be complete. These latter bodies enjoy tremendous advantages in that they represent homogeneous constituencies, and in that they may reach decision by majority votes.

Senator Borah's program implies, further, the adherence of all sovereign states to a universal world court enjoying compulsory jurisdiction over all truly international disputes. A small beginning has been made in this direction, but much more remains to be done. The constitution of a

court, which of course cannot count as many judges as there are sovereign states in the world, must be unanimously agreed upon by all nations. Its jurisdiction must be accepted by all, without any reservation. All states must solemnly and unqualifiedly abide by the decisions of such a court, no matter how unjust or inadequate these decisions may in individual cases seem to the people of the states concerned.

I sincerely believe that the future of the world lies in this direction, if civilization is to survive. I also believe that when once the goal thus defined is attained, the use of force will have become unnecessary. But I realize that it will take generations to reach that goal. In the meanwhile, may I express the earnest hope that the faith in the ideal of the ultimate effective outlawry of war which animates Senator Borah and his disciples may endure, even if they encounter, as they must, great obstacles on the road of practical achievement which alone leads to its realization.

And may I, in conclusion, ask that when they consider the efforts of those who, in other lands, under other banners, but with absolute sincerity, are striving toward the very same goal and struggling to overcome those very obstacles, they look upon them as friends, and not as rivals. The war-breeders and instigators whom Senator Borah justly denounces in his first resolution exist in many lands, and even if unknown and hostile to each other are everywhere natural allies. If the peace-breeders and instigators are to prevail, they also must in future unite their efforts and not seek to found the palace of their dreams upon the ruins of the endeavors of their best friends.

Forming a New World Habit

By Ernest Fremont Tittle

THERE IS NO ONE WAY to rid the world of war, for war is the result of many causes, political, economic, and psychological. But for the maintaining of peace two things certainly are essential: First and foremost, a will to peace on the part of the governments and peoples of the world; second, some sort of judicial machinery for the settlement of international disputes.

The importance of judicial machinery cannot be overestimated. Faith without works is dead. Equally dead is a desire for peace without the means of putting it into effect. Personal disputes were settled (?) by sword or pistol until courts were established to which disputants could appeal with a fair prospect of securing justice. International disputes will be settled (?) by guns and gas until some world court is evolved to which, even under circumstances which seem to involve national "honor," nations will be willing to submit their case, in the conviction that their most vital interests will be fully safeguarded.

But if faith without works is dead, works without faith soon become inoperative. Equally inoperative will be a world court unless it is supported by the determination of governments and peoples to substitute judicial processes for military processes in times of international crisis. To just what extent does such a determination now exist?

Nobody knows. But an answer to this question would soon be discovered if Senator Borah's resolution for the outlawry of war were presented to the governments and peoples of the world. Are statesmen in earnest when they say, If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us? Are business men in earnest when they say that war is an economic waste? Are Christians in earnest when they say that war is sin? If they are, will they not heartily endorse a resolution making war a public crime, under the law of nations?

NEED OF FAITH

It might be argued that such a resolution, even though it were universally adopted, would presently be disregarded by some covetous or frightened nation. It might be argued that, while some states would venture to trust in judicial processes, others would continue to trust only in military processes and secretly prepare to use them, thus placing the former at a dangerous disadvantage. Mr. Levinson's proposal that an international court of justice should be given power to summon a defendant nation at the petition of a complainant nation might be met with the searching question, "Whence is such power to be secured?" And if one should answer, "The enlightened conscience of mankind," the possible retort of cynics and unbelievers is sufficiently

obvious. All of which calls attention to the lack of something without which no progress has ever been made in this world—faith. How do we know that Mr. Levinson's plan would work? The only honest answer is, We don't; we cannot, until we give it a trial.

But is it not high time that a trial of this sort should be made? "Fear causes suspicion and hatred; it is hardly too much to say that between nations it stimulates all that is bad and depresses all that is good." So writes Viscount Grey, and no intelligent person will challenge this statement. At this present moment fear is threatening the very existence of civilization, all of worth that former generations have striven to achieve. What is imperatively needed is faith—faith in the possibility of a world set free from the continual dread of increasingly brutal and wasteful war. And is it not conceivable that a resolution to outlaw war, to place it in the same category with piracy, slavery, and murder, would, if universally adopted by the nations of the world, help tremendously to create this all-essential faith? Is it not possible that multitudes of men would breathe a sigh of relief and begin to say, "There is another and better method of settling international disputes"?

If civilization is to endure and become increasingly splendid, the old habit of resorting to war must be discarded in favor of a new habit of resorting to law. In his famous essay on "The Laws of Habit," William James writes: "In the acquisition of a new habit or the leaving off of an old one, we must take care to *launch ourselves with as strong and decided an initiative as possible*. Accumulate all the possible circumstances which shall reinforce the right motives; put yourself assiduously in conditions that encourage the new way; make engagements incompatible with the old; take a public pledge if the case allows; in short, envelope your resolution with every aid you know." If the world is ever to leave off the old habit of resorting to military measures and acquire a new habit of resorting to judicial measures, must it not launch out with some such plan as that which Mr. Levinson has conceived and Senator Borah is proposing? Must it not "take a public pledge" to renounce war as a method of settling international disputes, "make engagements incompatible" with the old war system, and begin to "accumulate all the possible circumstances"—actual settlements by judicial processes—which shall reinforce its faith in the possibility of peace?

Suppose America Should Lead!

By Frederick Lynch

WHAT A THRILL would go through the world if the United States should suddenly throw off all timidity, all self-complacency, all talk of America first or safety first, all this talk about safe-guarding her own rights, and become, as once she was, the prophetic nation, afraid of no venture that has in it the promise of universal brotherhood and peace! How the world would thrill if America would say: We want a world court to which every dispute must be taken and every nation be bound by its decision; we want a democratic society of nations with an elected council which has for its chief purpose the welfare of all peoples; but basic to this, and far above all this, we believe the time has come when the institution of war and a real civilization can no longer exist in the same world, and we propose that it be abolished once and for all; therefore we call upon all the nations of the world through a conference of governments which we stand ready to call, by common agreement to make war between nations a crime forever, and to this we pledge all our resources of faith and determined purpose. What a thrill would go through the world! But more, is there not a probability that if America said this with finality of conviction in her voice the whole world—the peoples at least—would respond with joy, seeing at last the day of their deliverance.

And now the almost unbelievable news comes that at last this country is to be called upon to make perhaps the greatest venture any nation ever made in all history.

Senator Borah has introduced into the United States senate a resolution calling upon the senate to say to the world that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or a means for the settlement of international

controversies, by making it a public crime under the law of nations, and that, with war outlawed, a judicial substitute for war should be created in the form of an international court clothed with a code of international law and possessing affirmative jurisdiction over all questions.

Again, what a thrill would go through the heart of all peoples if the senate would pass this resolution and the nation issue the call to all governments challenging them to rise to so majestic a position. Again we say we believe the peoples of the world would rise to it and we believe the governments would have to heed it. And what will happen to our President if he issues such a call? He will go down into history with Washington who made a nation; with Lincoln who made a real democracy.

And where now are the churches going to stand? Can they recover the lost power of venture? The creation of the church was a great venture. It was an act of sublime and unparalleled faith. It was because it dared the impossible that it won the early world. It was a great venture, and the world leaped to it. Has the American church now the courage to recapture this fine faith and say to the senate of the United States and to the President: "You must do this Christian thing. War and Jesus Christ have no part together. They do not belong in the same world, and no real civilization can contain both. We have faltered and compromised long enough. The time has come to rid the world of the whole unholy war system forever. As for us, we will never again have anything to do with it. If you will dare this great venture we will stand unitedly behind you. We believe it is of God!" The hour has struck. This will be the second Bethlehem for it will be the rebirth of Christ.

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A British View

By Frederick W. Norwood

I RESPOND with pleasure to the invitation to comment upon Senator Borah's resolution. I am in the midst of a strenuous campaign aimed at least at making war intolerable to the minds of my countrymen, and can scarce snatch the time to make this contribution. I hail the resolution with devout thankfulness, to say the least. It is a demonstration of America's real interest in the heaviest problem of the older world. As such it will do great good, even if it does not command acceptance. I have never been of the number who think that America is merely indifferent to the matter of world peace. Four visits to your country, usually of some three months' duration, in which I have travelled in the majority of the states, addressed thousands of people, and conversed with citizens of all shades of opinion, have always left the conviction upon my mind that your country is more inclined to peace than any other that I know. I have been aware that your official abstention from the league of nations and your hesitating approach to the world court, have far deeper reasons than mere unconcern.

WAR—THE LAWFUL

Your geographical remoteness and your abundant prosperity have led many in other lands to so interpret your actions, but I have never doubted that they were wrong. There are careless people with no world vision upon both sides of the Atlantic, but the heart of your nation is as sound as that of any other. Your capacity for sacrifice is second to none, and you have probably more real workers for peace than are to be found in any land whatever. It is a joy for me to say this in the columns of *The Christian Century*, as I have said it from innumerable platforms. I agree with every word in Senator Borah's resolution and also with the draft treaty in which the Honorable S. O. Levinson seeks to formulate its terms. There is no question in my mind that the right attitude for civilization to adopt towards war is to take away its legal status. It is true, as Mr. Levinson says, that in our perversity, we have made it "the most lawful thing in civilization." We can compel men to take part in it by means of conscription, with imprisonment as a penalty for refusal to obey. We allow martial law to suspend every other law of God or man. The theory is always, of course, that it is done in the name of self-defense, but as the most blatant aggressor makes precisely the same claim, and there is never any means of testing its validity, the result has been that every man in Christendom is bound to go and kill his fellowman if his government instructs him to do so.

In the great war, so far as official policy was concerned, no less than fifteen hundred millions of people—some seven-eighths of the world's population—were legally commanded to hate their opponents and were justified in encompassing their death. From such a spectacle the imagination recoils in horror. The supreme miracle is that we have not been more utterly shocked than we appear to have been. If Christendom can tolerate a denouement of that kind and go calmly on its way, mumbling about the fatherhood of God and paying lip service to Christ, its extinction would

seem to be its only proper fate. The only adequate attitude, both of individuals and of nations, is one of utter repudiation of a system capable of such a monstrous issue. We have outlawed murder within the circle of nationality. It is almost the only crime for which the state itself inflicts the death penalty. The reason revolts against the anomaly of an attitude of mind which regards the killing of one individual by another as the supreme crime, but glorifies the murder of millions of people by opposing millions as the supreme patriotism. Shall we never emerge from this state of nightmare?

We know quite well that personal killing has always been common where law has been ineffective. Your own America offers many illustrations of this truth. It is only when law is strong enough to make killing illegal that it stops. When separate states become harmonized under one government, killing is suppressed by law, and indeed, the law itself is outstripped by the change of mental attitude. For centuries killing raged along the borders of England and Scotland, of England and Wales, and it has not long stopped across the narrow channel that separates England and Ireland. Today the existence of a borderline offers no excuse to the killer. The conclusion seems to be obvious that just so soon as accepted law prevails on either side of any border what was disguised as patriotism becomes branded as murder. If Senator Borah, or any other man, could get nations to agree that organized killing as well as individual killing was no less criminal over a border than within it, because it was an offense against world law, he would have done more to release human life from horror than any mortal whose name adds dignity to the pages of history.

But all turns upon the authority of the law. There is the rub. It must run on *both* sides of the border. Pardon me for drawing attention to what seems to me a noticeable difference between American and European thinking. You dwell upon a sun-kissed continent; we live in a shadowed land. You are almost unconscious of war; to you it was a foreign adventure. To us it is the very warp and woof of our history. You have a friendly borderline along the north and no threatening neighbors to the south. And the sea swathes your flanks in genial protectiveness. Senator Borah's comparison of the international court with "our federal supreme court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states" sounds to us like a citation from Moore's *Utopia*. Geography and history have been kind to you, but they have been our curse. Think of the Balkans as "sovereign states!" Remember the everlasting feuds of Europe and have patience with us.

EUROPE'S SPRAINED ANKLE

So far as I may speak for others, as I certainly speak for myself, the outlawry of war is the only rational objective. But the question is, which comes first, "the judicial substitute for war," or "war outlawed"? When private killing was the custom in Texas or Arizona, which came first, a solemn pronouncement that the killer was an outlaw or the establishment of strong and authoritative law? The fortun-

ate American mind may seize upon the first; the haunted European mind can only with difficulty put its trust in the second. I do not undervalue the moral effect of such a pronouncement by the nations as Senator Borah suggests. I wish that they would make it, but I have a regretful feeling of certainty that they will not. You have had a flying start; we have a badly sprained ankle. Let us cherish the conviction that the best thought upon both sides of the Atlantic is seeking the same objective, and if our pace be slower than yours let us remember that we are both conditioned by our environment. As we recover from our sprains we hope to travel faster.

I wish for Senator Borah's resolution a triumphant issue. I would hail it as the beginning of an epoch if America, even for herself, were to decree her willingness to outlaw war. Every nation has its own genius, and to do such things is for America a valid contribution. I would rejoice to see

the resolution made the basis of a world conference. Its educational value would be tremendous. It would draw your country nearer to the older and sadder countries of the world. It might have results which would rebuke my hesitation.

I write out of the midst of a strenuous campaign, waged for the same end. I am perhaps more poignantly conscious than normally of the tangle of beliefs and lack of beliefs which make the quest for peace itself a fight. We are progressing slowly. If we pin our faith to the league of nations and to the world court rather than to sweeping resolutions, it is because history has shaped us differently from you. We approach from different angles but we draw nearer to the same goal. The ultimate end is that war between nations shall be outlawed as it is between individuals, and with all the more emphasis because it is so much more horrible and utterly pagan.

The World Alliance and Peace

By Henry A. Atkinson

A NOTABLE ADVANCE was made by the world alliance for international friendship through the churches when it adopted the report of its committee at the Pittsburgh conference and announced a program comprehensive enough to form the basis of unity for all the groups working for world peace. The unifying principle which underlies this program is found in the opening paragraph, in which the alliance expresses its unalterable opposition to war as a means of settling international disputes and pledges itself to its ultimate outlawry and overthrow.

War is at the bottom of most of our woes in the world today as it has been all through the ages. In approximately six thousand years of recorded history there have been more than six thousand wars—one for every year! And the end is not in sight. The last war, like many another, was waged as "the last war" but the world is slow to learn that nothing breeds war like war. Whether any good has ever come through war is not the question—no one who knows, seriously claims that the world war was a paying venture. Everybody lost and lost almost everything worth having.

The war made humanity realize as never before the fact that modern civilization cannot exist under the pressure of the war system. The issue is joined. Either war or our modern way of living must be abandoned. The mechanism of trade and the means of communication are so delicately adjusted that they cannot stand the strain. The world is too small to tolerate war.

The league of nations was established and has proved its value. Up to the present time no single movement has ever done so much as has the league to create the atmosphere and provide the machinery for substituting reason for force in settling disputes between the nations. The Locarno agreements and the adjustments that have been made through conference and by the international court, together with the plans and purposes looking toward an extension of

arbitration agreements, all evidence the earnest purpose of men in all the nations to find a way out of our present difficulties. Unfortunately, America has had little or no part in this splendid work that has been done, and in the exigencies of political controversy men and women who should have been friends because of their common interest have found themselves bitterly opposed to each other. The Pittsburgh program not only makes possible the coordination of the opinions of the various groups, but by tying up the American proposal for the outlawry of war to American membership in the existing court, and cooperation with the league of nations, gives an opportunity for all to combine in one supreme effort to destroy war.

The alliance calls upon America to lead. Instead of being the laggard it should be the first to say to the nations, "Let's get together and agree that no matter what may happen some other method must be found of adjusting difficulties, and in no case will we resort to war." With such an agreement it would be perfectly easy to transform the war forces of the world into police agencies, and instead of departments of the army and navy in the various countries spending huge sums year by year, training and planning and preparing for war, there would be in every nation a department of safety which would take into consideration the needs of the government and provide the police protection that is necessary.

The crusade is not simply for today or tomorrow, but is to continue until the war machines of the nations are broken and destroyed, and in their place is found the international court having a wider jurisdiction, the league of nations with every nation supporting it, and boards of conciliation and arbitration. In other words, the alliance is attempting to lead in a movement which will direct the nations along the same path as that followed in the development of the life of all communities. In pioneer days each man was a law unto himself. He settled his own disputes.

Feuds were common between private citizens until, through the development of a common consciousness, the court came to be recognized as the foundation of justice, and to it men turned for the adjudication of their disputes. The code of laws accepted by the court became the basis of the community life, and private wars were outlawed. Today in every well-ordered community the police take care of offenders and private citizens' rights are protected by the community and under the law of its courts, so that any man carrying a gun, even for his own protection, is considered a malefactor. The settlement of disputes by combat between private citizens is outlawed by custom and by statute.

The nations today, in their dealings with each other, are living under military rather than civil law. It is the pioneer spirit that rules.

The crusade upon which the alliance has entered attacks the very heart of the system itself. If it accepts attempts to define aggressive war or limit it to defense alone, or to set up a code of rules under which it can be conducted more humanely, it does so with the consciousness that these are but methods and by-products in the carrying out of its purpose, which is to destroy war and make its practice under any condition illegal.

Without the aid of religion this crusade can never succeed. Western civilization is what it is today in its better

aspects because of the influences of religion. Whatever we may say of its failures, the advances of humanity under western civilization, compared with the old standards, are very real. The value of the individual, the sacredness of contract, ordered community life, the abolition of slavery, the new place of labor in the social scale, the granting of larger freedom to all people, the new respect for womanhood and the new place given her in the ordered life of today, the care for childhood, the ameliorative and saving influences thrown about the weak and the sick, together with the fight against disease and those contagions which have decimated humanity at stated periods in the world's history—all of these achievements must be credited to it. In fact, western civilization, black as may be some of the pages of its history, is the highest type of human development ever achieved upon this globe, and what it has accomplished has been through the influence and under the inspiration of religion. The great struggle is on. All the good we claim as the flower of our civilization will be destroyed unless we destroy war. The supreme task of the church is to furnish the motive and the inspiration for the crusade.

The world alliance faces its task knowing full well its difficulties, but with hope and confidence in its ultimate success.

Let Us Slay the Hydra!

By Frederick F. Shannon

THE OPENING PARAGRAPH, alone, of Senator Borah's resolution is enough to commend the whole of it to every thoughtful mind. It contains a graphic and comprehensive indictment of the war system. Indeed, as I read it I am reminded of the hydra, with its many heads, which slined in the marshes of Lerna. This terrible beast, it will be remembered, had nine heads, the central one being immortal. With his club Hercules undertook to destroy the monster; but every time he struck off a head two heads grew up in its place. Applying, at last, firebrands to the roots of each head, and finally severing the immortal one from the body, the hydra was conquered.

Consider, if you will, some of the heads of our venerable legalized hydra. The resolution says that war is a menace—"the greatest existing menace to society." Is not this unquestionably the conviction of the best judgment of mankind?

Yet we stupidly protect our legalized hydra.

The resolution says that war is expensive. The point is not even debatable. The latest figures place the expense of the world war at 337 billions of dollars. That is, we brilliant modern folks sent up nine millions in flame and smoke every hour for between three and four years, or 216 millions every twenty-four hours that we occupied our international insane asylum.

Yet we uneconomically protect our legalized hydra.

The resolution says that war is destructive. Nor, again, is there room for debate. It is true that statistics are capable of rendering only a part of war's ghastly account; never-

theless, those statistics are truly terrible. After the world-hydra relaxed its folds, there were twenty-six million dead combatants and non-combatants; there were twenty millions of the wounded; there were nine millions of the orphans; there were five millions of the widows; there were ten millions of the refugees.

Yet we murderously protect our legalized hydra.

The resolution says, furthermore, that war which is so "menacing" and "expensive" and "destructive," also "threatens to engulf and destroy civilization."

Now, in the teeth of these facts, is it not high time to cut off the central head of our twentieth century hydra? Moreover, is not the head at the very centre of our planetary snake the *legal* head? As long as we feed it on the meat of law, the milk of custom, the dessert of nationalistic jingoism, just so long will the many-headed monster continue to draw both property and personality within its envenomed and deadly folds. Cut off the head at the centre, and the other heads will have to go.

For several reasons, I am for this resolution. The first is this: War is the most unchristian and immoral social usage known to man. It digs more graves; it breaks more hearts; it mutilates more bodies; it uncoils more hissing hates; it degrades more varieties of human nature; it loads rich and poor alike with more age-long financial burdens than any single system yet devised by misguided human ingenuity and practiced by a civilization which will one day be looked back upon as largely uncivilized because it tolerated the present war system.

I am for the resolution, in the second place, because it lays bare one of the most abnormal of all national and international customs. Briefly stated, the abnormal situation is this: civilization, in everything save the idea of war, is based upon law and its interpretation by duly constituted courts. So old is this practice that it goes back to the enlightened beginnings of organized society. In a word, the judgments rendered by its courts are adhered to by each nation; thus does each nation earn the characterization of a law-abiding people. But just here appears one of the strangest chapters on "arrested progress" to be found in man's whole social history. It is in the fact that every nation sits in judgment, is its own supreme court, in the matter of war. That is, all nations seem so insanely determined to protect our legalized hydra, that each has practically refused to submit its cause to an international tribunal.

Now, as I understand it, the Borah resolution undertakes to rewrite this chaotic chapter of our arrested international social progress. After cutting off with one keen, deep stroke the immoral—not the immortal—head of our legalized hydra, casting it out and beyond the pale of law, it contemplates "a judicial substitute for war." If such a substitute is already in existence, even in part, it proposes to

adapt it "in the form or nature of an international court, modeled on our federal supreme court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states."

I believe in the resolution, moreover, because it reflects the truer soul of America. It is utterly unthinkable, even as it is practically impossible, that our country shall indefinitely continue its policy of "selfish and sullen isolation, which is deeply ignoble because manifestly cowardly and dishonorable." Underneath the surface of our national life there are deeps which prophesy a better day. And within these deeps are the steady tides of altruism, intelligence, duty, world-mindedness, and, above all, a deathless determination to assist in the destruction of a legalized monster which threatens to destroy civilization.

I believe in the resolution, also, because it is big enough to give every fighter for world-wide peace room to move about in. May common sense prevent all good people, in this new great adventure, from wasting their energies on non-essentials! The cause is too great to be betrayed by ignorance, partisanship, or any one of many paralyzing forces which bedevil well-meaning people. Here is something great enough to challenge all of us—and all there is of all of us.

Who, Pray, Can Oppose It?

By Melvin V. Oggel

FIVE YEARS AGO this Christmas the American committee for the outlawry of war made its bow to the world. Somewhat over a year later—on February 13, 1923, to be exact—the Borah resolution to outlaw war was introduced in the United States senate. And with the coming of the Christmas of 1926 this momentous half decade is being appropriately rounded out by the publishing of the draft treaty to outlaw war which "the father of outlawry" has now "carved out" of Senator Borah's resolution.

In this treaty a profound and revolutionary philosophy of international relations becomes articulate—a philosophy which it would take a volume to expound. Someone has said that Burns' "The Cotter's Saturday Night" could not have been written had not centuries of cotters' Saturday nights gone before. Just so, what makes this treaty to outlaw war so meaningful is the fact that it garners and preserves the fruits of an age-old longing for peace. Moreover, it epitomizes other values besides peace—values like liberty and fair dealing, for which a war system has often forced men to sacrifice peace. For, alone among peace programs, outlawry calls for "equality and justice between all nations," and one might say of it what Louis Blanc said of the French revolution: "All the revolts of the past unite and lose themselves in it, like rivers in the sea."

Heretofore war has been "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The real nature of war, which the outlawrist finds in its institutional status, has not been grasped, wherefore we have had no intelligently directed attack upon the war system. Our peace programs have not profited from the red lessons of catastrophe, "re-

newed and re-renewed," "and all our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death."

LINCOLN AND LEVINSON

But now at last, from this luminous compact a light flares up which throws the whole problem of war into bold relief. As Lincoln was able to clarify the slavery issue by a few searching phrases, so Levinson has been able to clarify the war issue by a treaty of two hundred words, a treaty which, by providing that war be outlawed, offers an infallible test of the reality of the nations' desire to wipe out this plague. For law is society's formal way of expressing its intentions, its purposes. And, in challenging the nations to outlaw war, what is done is to take the measure of their pacific professions by offering them a practical program through which they can make an end of war if they really want to do so.

Here is a proposal which the masses of men can understand, and behind which they can rally. Brushing aside all the artificial complexities of the international schemes, the outlawry treaty stakes the whole issue of peace on one elemental query: Do the nations or do not the nations wish peace? If they do, they will, of course, agree to disavow and exterminate the institution of war. The plan suggested by Levinson is simple and understandable. The strength of outlawry lies in its freedom from the learned and involved fatalisms which have kept war's legal bulwarks intact. "Mark now how plain a tale shall put you down."

The time-honored procedure of "peace" programs has been to try to adjust the principles of peace to an international order which enthrones and sanctions war. Thus,

following the late slaughter, a league of nations was founded which still enshrined war in its covenant. Within the league system a court was set up whose decisions may be enforced by war. Protection against war was sought through three league protocols (though none of them was adopted) which were in reality vast military alliances. One league commission has proved willing to debate any conceivable scheme for disarmament so long as it is *not* predicated on the disturbing of war's institutional status. And another league commission is studying the possibilities of codifying international law—*without* securing a basic law against war! The outlawist shouts from the housetop that you can never get peace by any such covenants with hell. He demands that, instead of re-enacting the fatal farce of trying to adjust the principles of peace to the war system, the war system itself be demolished.

PICTURE THE CONFERENCE!

With this summons to "direct action" against an immemorial, enormous curse, may we not venture to believe that a new day has dawned for our war-mangled race? Have we not reason to think that, as on that first Christmas night in Judea, so today mankind may be standing on the brink of a great creative epoch—may be about to vent its anger upon an arch-foe by one of those outbursts of overpowering moral energy which are required from time to time for the succoring of civilization? For the treaty to outlaw war cannot, in the nature of the case, be made the football of transient politics, a thing whose fortunes vary with the rise and fall of cabinets. This dynamic agreement is not a program for a day or a year, but for all time. It must constitute nothing less than a decisive act of civilization by which the institutional props of war are so thoroughly smashed that they can never be pieced together.

Picture the international conference in which the nations will assemble to act on this plain-speaking, pellucid treaty to outlaw war. The doors of that conference must be kept open so that its proceedings can be broadcast to the far corners of the world, and so that the opinion of all the world can impinge upon its deliberations. Now the treaty is being read! Who will rise to oppose it? What delegate will have the face, with his nation's tax-payers and his nation's mothers listening in on the international radio, to argue against the branding of war as a crime; against the constituting of a real court of justice in place of this court of war which settles nothing and unsettles everything; against the equipping of that court of justice with a peace code which insures a square deal to all nations, small and great? And what militarist back home, with the nations evidencing their determination to end war, will make bold to plead the hostile designs of other powers as necessitating his own country's going on with its worship of Mars?

A host of peace organizations have sprung up in America since the war, and it is high time the American will to peace was becoming crystallized by being translated into official action. *America must now go on record for peace.* Her geographical aloofness from war's favorite haunts has given her a perspective which promises healing for the world's wounds, but first of all it is needful that she declare her ambition to unite with her sister nations in the absolute and final destruction of the institution of war. That is her inescapable duty.

The frightful wastes and horrors of war have loomed large in my mind as I have read and re-read the new outlawry treaty, and it is my earnest conviction that "the hopes and fears of all the years" which have come and gone since man first took up his ancient quarrel with the evil of war are met in this pregnant covenant of peace.

Renounce the Right to Do Wrong!

By Florence E. Allen

WILL PEACE ADVOCATES support the first resolution to outlaw war ever introduced in the senate of the United States? Will the Christian church, which professes to believe in the philosophy and religion of Jesus Christ, support the proposition that this nation should, through its government, declare its willingness, in unison with other nations, to renounce its own right to do wrong? This is the outstanding issue raised by the reintroduction into the United States senate of Senator Borah's resolution to outlaw war.

The resolution properly does not undertake to formulate the details of the outlawry of war. It does provide, however, for the expression in solemn form by this government of an international policy which comprises the following propositions:

- (1) The further use of war as an institution for the settlement of international disputes shall be abolished.
- (2) War between nations shall be declared to be a public crime under the law of nations, without involving or affect-

ing the question of defense against actual invasion.

- (3) All annexations, seizures, or exactions by force, duress or fraud, shall be null and void.

- (4) The international laws of peace shall be based upon equality and justice between nations.

These principles have never yet been declared as binding between the nations. Their declaration cuts at the root of the war system. When the governments of one or two great powers solemnly pledge themselves to the principle that the same rules of right and wrong by which society tests individual action should apply to international action, the corner-stone of lasting world peace will have been laid.

That the enactment of this pledge by the senate of the United States will result in immediate stimulation of peace forces throughout the world cannot be doubted. If adherence to the policies expressed at Locarno did for the time being ease world tension, the principles emphasized and defined in Senator Borah's resolution, more basic than those adopted at Locarno, enacted by the senate of the United

States would further ease world tension and would give a tremendous sanction to the effort to substitute law for war.

If not one nation responds to the passage of the resolution, we have lost nothing, but there has been an enormous gain in understanding of the disposition of the nations toward war. On the other hand, if two influential governments, only, accede to these principles, the outlawry movement is in full swing among the nations of the world. If Great Britain or Canada or any one considerable power joins us in the declaration, the other nations will in time respond, and eventually all will outlaw war.

There are urgent practical reasons for our enacting this resolution. Europe views us as a nation which made gain from the war, which exacts gain out of the war settlements, but has no stake in the world war problem except that of self. American citizens know that this is not the case, and realize that this nation suffered, together with other nations, from the world war; that the list of its casualties mounts day by day among the soldiers who will never recover from their active service in the trenches, and that the backwash of the struggle has brought to us hideous debris. Nevertheless, Europe thinks that we refuse to be bound by the league of nations because we wish to have our hands free for economic oppression. Europe thinks that we make reservations to the world court proposal not because some of us sincerely object to this world court as constituted, but because we do not wish to cooperate in adjudication of international controversy. Adoption of the policy embodied in the Borah proposal by the highest branch of the congress of this great military and financial power would not only ease the hostility between ourselves and Europe, but would also bring into high light the fact that even though some of us differ with Europe as to method, we earnestly desire world peace, and are willing actually to renounce that attribute of sovereignty, our privilege to do wrong, in order to cooperate in the abolition of the war system.

OUR SOUTHERN NEIGHBORS

Our relations with the South American nations would be particularly aided by the passage of this resolution. While a long line of American Presidents, to our everlasting credit, have steadfastly withstood the pressure arising from certain interests to invade and to attempt to subjugate Mexico, we are regarded with suspicion by that republic. Our recent diplomatic passes with Mexico have deepened that suspicion. Prominent leaders in South America question our motives and accuse us of the desire for economic exploitation of the entire western hemisphere. The mass of our people are opposed to attempts to dominate the other American states, but dollar diplomats have not always fairly represented our international ideals. We are not bound by the declarations of our Presidents and our state departments, no matter how high-minded they may be. The great utterances of Lincoln, Cleveland, Taft and Wilson with regard to our policy upon this hemisphere constitute no pledge of faith by the American people. The solemn enactment of the Borah resolution by the senate of the United States would constitute such a pledge. Such enactment is not inconsistent with the Monroe doctrine, for the Monroe doctrine rightly construed did not declare that it was our right to exploit the

American hemisphere, but on the contrary declared that it was the American aim to preserve this hemisphere from the despotism of the old world. The outlawry of militarism and old world diplomacy, which are the boon companions of war, will secure the purpose of the Monroe doctrine and in the end, the outlawry of the war system will make the Monroe doctrine unnecessary. The enactment of this outlawry resolution, therefore, would not attack the Monroe doctrine, either in letter or in spirit, but would enhance friendship in the Pan-American group; it would demonstrate our sincerity toward the South American nations and reestablish us in our traditional moral leadership.

LEAGUE AND OUTLAWRY

Every supporter of the league of nations should favor the enactment of the Borah resolution because the league will have incomparably greater strength for the prevention of war when the sanction is taken away from war. Every opponent of the league who sincerely desires peace should favor the enactment of this measure because, whatever international machinery is used, whatever peace plan is adopted, it must be based upon the proposition that the use of mass killing and group violence to settle international controversy is banned by the civilized world. Other action besides the enactment of this resolution must of course eventually be taken. There must be permanent machinery continuously operating in order to attain world peace. There must be a world court with affirmative jurisdiction and power to adjudicate controversies between nations. But no international machinery can in the last analysis actually prevent war so long as the nations have not as yet repudiated the use of war in international controversy.

The enactment of the Borah resolution would constitute direct action by one of the leading powers toward the repudiation of the war system, the greatest peace action yet taken by the world. The question for America to face is whether we shall refuse to take that action, or whether we shall now, in our day and generation, begin to write into a binding covenant the principle that there shall be no situation where the rules of right and wrong shall not function; that there shall be no group, however powerful, including ourselves, that shall be above the law.

This Is the Way!

By Stephen G. Porter

IN REPLY to your inquiry as to the most effective method of preventing war, permit me to say that on December 9, 1926, Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a resolution in the senate of the United States stating that war is the greatest existing menace to society and threatens to engulf and destroy civilization. His resolution states that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution for the settlement of controversies between nations by making it a public crime under the law of nations, and that a substitute for war should be created in the form of an international court modeled on our federal supreme court to determine these controversies. I am in such hearty accord with the progressive ideas expressed in Senator Borah's

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resolution that it is unnecessary for me to make any statement other than to say that the senator's resolution fully expresses my view on the subject.

It may not be amiss to state, however, that when this court is created and vested with these beneficent powers by the nations of the world, international law in so far as practicable, should be codified for its guidance; otherwise its functioning would be feeble and unsatisfactory. It must be a court similar to those in all the civilized countries of the world for the settlement of disputes between individuals, and not subject to control, however slight, by any one or group of litigants, so that its decisions will command the confidence of the world by reason of their fairness and impartiality.

The Time is Favorable

By the Most Rev. James J. Keane

SENATOR BORAH'S resolution, a copy of which you have sent me, is an ideal which if realized must be the beginning of a new era for the world. It will surely provoke very general discussion and at least help toward the solution of the greatest problem of our day. Every concrete scheme for the ensuring of international justice through other means than war has contributed in some measure to world peace by emphasizing the utter unreasonableness of armed conflicts. Now the spokesmen of great nations seem to have accepted the general principle that right and not force must prevail in international relations and that a way must be found to ensure national safety without recourse to arms.

The immense sorrow of the present generation would seem to make the time favorable for the careful consideration of an ideal scheme such as that embodied in Senator Borah's resolution. If selfish tyrannies, national jealousies or political animosities should prevail against its adoption now, its appeal to the imagination and heart of the masses will ensure for it further and more sympathetic study.

It is unfortunate that at this time in questions of corporate morality there is too little guidance and perhaps the law of nations has not made a very definite impression on men's minds or a very powerful appeal to their imagination. The law of nations is based on the simple proposition that all human actions are under the preeminent domination of the moral law, and this in the case of corporate bodies or states as of individuals. Every form of human activity should prepare the generation to come for the acceptance of the fundamental principles of social life and so prepare the future for such aids to human betterment as that embodied in Senator Borah's resolution.

A New Hope in the World

By Fred B. Smith

THERE IS A NEW HOPE in the world, notwithstanding the abiding perils and the ominous threatenings of a return to war in many parts. Perhaps nothing is more imperative with the leaders of the Christian movement around the world at this Christmas time than a renewal of a purpose to continue the relentless

crusade against the doctrine of war as a method of settling international misunderstandings. So far as the Christian church and the religious organizations are concerned, this is the premier challenge, nothing else matters much.

It may not be possible to know in every detail the final and perfect method by which this consummation is to be realized, but a few things are assured:

A crusade against war must contemplate the day when resort to armed force upon the part of any nation will be a crime against international law, as well as against the laws of humanity and the will of God. It ought to make any professing Christian shudder to think that in this year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six, war is still a perfectly legal process by which nations can finally adjust their disagreements. Whatever way the processes of procedure, however long the way, war must be outlawed.

A crusade for a warless world to be effective will have to be carried to a very high moral and spiritual plane. No legislative body in the world has ever been able to enact laws severe enough against crime to abolish crime. The world peace will eventually respond to the moral and spiritual conceptions which people hold concerning the human race, its purpose and its destiny. Instruments are valuable, but moral sentiment is the only abiding sanction.

All praise to The Christian Century for this Christmas challenge. We may not all agree concerning the specific items in all the methods of procedure, but every sincere lover of international peace will thank God for the high position being taken for the utter abolition of war.

Are We in Earnest?

By Stephen S. Wise

I AM EAGER to test anew America's conviction on the question of war, for I believe that America's attitude toward war has not found true expression in recent elections. The league of nations problem has been confused by the willful or witless bedevilment of every manner of reason, prejudice and partisanship. American citizens have not since the war directly faced the question: "Were we in earnest when we went into the war to end war?" Hair splitting, much of it dishonest, about the forms of international association has choked the spirit of the nation which would war against war.

Senator Borah's proposal to outlaw war comes as a glorious opportunity and as a rallying cry at one and the same time. It is an immediate summons to America to put all complications aside in order to face the most urgent problem in the world: How can we help to outlaw war? This does not mean the repudiation of the moral sanctions of the war against war, but rather to attempt to do what has never been done—to put the stamp of outlawry upon war and thus oppose war with all the accumulating and increasing force of the legal sanctions of the nations.

It were a fitting, even a glorious thing, if in the war upon war America, our own country, should not only prove to be the most effective aggressor, but in addition have come upon the method which is destined to make the outlawry of war the last if not the first step prior to its abolition.

The Next Step

By Raymond Robins

HUMAN society has overthrown other powerful legal institutions that had grown to be a menace to human welfare. Piracy, the international slave trade, the code duello, the slave system, the liquor traffic—all were legal institutions, all were as old as history—all have been outlawed and their exercise made a public crime, in the progress of mankind from barbarism up to liberty and security under law. The history of civilization in the structure of social control has been the history of the invasion of the realms of force and violence by public law.

Always the successful method for the liberation of society from the effects of an outworn legal institution has been to outlaw the institution and to make its exercise a public crime. Never has the attack been upon causes. There are just as many causes for duels today as there ever were, just as many persons who would like to get human labor without paying for it, just as many thirsts for liquor as ten years ago; but there are no duels, no human slavery, and no legal saloons in the United States. Institutions that are outlawed and their operation made a public crime, die out of the life of the world. That is the verdict of history.

This is the answer to the supreme problem and menace of war in our civilization today. The war system and the war institution must be outlawed by international agreement and war must be made a crime under the law of nations. This is the first and vitalizing step in an effective "war against war."

Make War a Crime!

By Patrick H. Callahan

THE MOVEMENT to outlaw war, which finds definite expression in the Borah resolution, is *the* method of action for all of us who are seeking some security for the future. While courts and leagues or other associations of the people will always be needed, the thing that must be done first of all, if we are to have peace, is to establish it in the minds of the people of the world that war must be made a crime. After that is done, these other agencies can become effective.

I hope that those who were in the combatant service of the United States during the world war will follow the example of their fellow-soldiers from France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, who met in Geneva, following the session of the league assembly, to hold a monster "No More War" demonstration.

You will remember that, in his address at the world alliance meeting in Pittsburgh on Armistice day, our Archbishop Keane said, "A generation crushed by untold sufferings and bowed down by sorrow over the victims of barbaric strife is demanding better security for the generations to come." It is in the name of this generation that we demand that the nations, through their representatives, direct their thought and action to making war, the curse of the centuries, an international crime.

By Cable from Miss Royden

In heartiest sympathy with propaganda for the outlawry of war. God speed you!

London.

MAUDE ROYDEN.

Contributors to This Issue

WILLIAM E. BORAH, United States senator from Idaho.

SALMON O. LEVINSON, distinguished Chicago attorney, in whose mind was first conceived the program of abolishing war by outlawing it.

JOHN DEWEY, professor of philosophy in Columbia university; America's most influential living philosopher.

WILLIAM E. RAPPARD, rector of the University of Geneva, Switzerland; former member of the league of nations secretariat and prominent writer on international themes.

GILBERT MURRAY, regius professor of Greek, Oxford university; former delegate to the assembly of the league of nations, representing South Africa; vice-chairman of executive committee, League of Nations Union; one of England's most authoritative spokesmen on the league and all international affairs.

STEPHEN G. PORTER, member of congress from Pennsylvania, and chairman of the committee on foreign relations; head of the American delegation to the international opium conference of 1924; strong advocate of third Hague conference to codify international law.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, minister the Community church, New York city; editor of *Unity*, the first magazine to advocate the principles of the outlawry of war.

JAMES J. KEANE, archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa; one of the most eminent representatives of international idealism within the Roman Catholic communion.

FLORENCE E. ALLEN, judge of the supreme court of the state of Ohio.

RAYMOND ROBINS, distinguished publicist, lecturer and social worker.

PATRICK H. CALLAHAN, president Catholic committee on international affairs; leader of Catholic war work overseas during the war.

MAUDE ROYDEN, England's foremost woman preacher; minister at Eccleston Guildhouse, London.

FREDERICK W. NORWOOD, minister at the City Temple, London; now on six months' leave from his pulpit conducting a crusade for peace in all parts of Britain.

HENRY A. ATKINSON, general secretary world alliance for international friendship through the churches.

ERNEST F. TITTLE, minister First Methodist church, Evanston, Ill.

FREDERICK LYNCH, educational secretary world alliance for international friendship through the churches; contributing editor *The Christian Century*.

MELVIN V. OGGEL, Presbyterian minister, Crawfordsville, Ind.

FREDERICK F. SHANNON, minister Central church, Chicago.

STEPHEN S. WISE, distinguished rabbi of the Free synagogue, New York City.

FRED B. SMITH, executive secretary world alliance for international friendship through the churches.

The Book for the Week

"Soup Stock for Sermons"

What To Preach. The Warrack Lectures for 1926. By Henry Sloane Coffin. George H. Doran Co. \$2.00.

KINDLY NOTE the quotation marks in this heading. The words are those in which the author, not the reviewer, characterizes this book. The reviewer would never take such a liberty. And yet, since the phrase has been coined, it might as well stand. It is not without appropriateness.

President Coffin's initial thesis in these lectures to young preachers upon the materials of preaching is that the prophetic function of the ministry has been greatly over-stressed in recent years. Ever since the epoch-making discovery, a generation or two ago, that the prophets of Israel were not primarily fore-tellers of events in the remote future but forth-tellers of a message direct from Jehovah to the men of their own day about crises then actual or imminent, it has been a favorite definition of the preacher's function to say that he is to be a prophet to his generation. So, in important respects, he is, and the emphasis upon this aspect of preaching has done much to give it a refreshingly contemporaneous instead of a dustily archeological character. But President Coffin, who here speaks in his professional character as a professor of homiletics and himself a preacher of rare power and persuasiveness, reminds us rightly that no preacher can count upon receiving authentic revelations in thirty-minute portions twice a week. The prophets themselves were never parish ministers charged with delivering frequent periodical discourses to the same group of people for many consecutive years. In general, each of them was confronted with a single specific situation of tremendous urgency, extreme peril, and national importance, and each had one message which came to him as the will of God with respect to that situation. Occasionally similar crises confront the preacher today, and the mantle of prophecy falls upon him. But his more normal function is that of a teacher of religion. As a teacher, he must have system, continuity, and variety of materials. To secure these, he must have recourse to an ample body of sources.

For this lecturer, the chief source of material for religious teaching is the Bible. Thorough modernist as he is in his view of the nature of the Bible and the quality of its authority, he finds in it the indispensable source of inspiration, instruction, suggestion, and illustration for the preacher, and a great part of his lectures might be called a treatise on the use of the Bible in preaching. Some will feel, as I do, that he over-states the importance of attaching every portion of religious teaching to a text, but no one can say that he understates the necessity of bringing experience, observation and reflection to bear in the production of a message which shall speak to the needs of today in the concepts and terminology which it can understand.

So copious and explicit are his illustrations of the ways in which passages of scripture may be used, sermons begun and ended, doctrines expounded, moral principles enforced, and evangelistic appeals made, that the theological students of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, where the lectures were delivered, had a right to feel that they had been presented with a very considerable body of homiletical material almost ready for use next Sunday morning. But if this is "soup stock for sermons," there is little if any of it that will spoil the broth, and the cooks are forewarned that it is not ready to serve until they have added to it the flavoring of their own personalities.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON.


International Interests

PERHAPS A BOOK should not be taken too seriously whose author begins with the engaging admission that "any energetic pedant could betray me in a hundred errors of fact; I do not aspire to the position of an authority." So it must be assumed that Mr. John Carter in *MAN IS WAR* (Bobbs Merrill,

\$3.50) is not sure of his facts but certain only of his conclusion, which is that war is so deeply implanted in human nature and so thoroughly wrought into the structure of political and economic society that it cannot be abolished so long as man remains human. The body of the book consists of a compilation of a great body of facts—most of them really facts, I think, in spite of the author's disclaimer of accuracy—illustrative of the divided, discordant, and conflicting interests of governments, races, religions, and economic groups. Nothing could be easier than to assemble such an exhibit. Incidentally, there is a considerable accumulation of interesting data regarding recent and present social and political changes—much of it entirely irrelevant to the thesis. The whole argument is vitiated by the apparent assumption that when you have proved that society is organized upon a competitive basis—which few would be rash enough to deny—you have proved that war must forever be the ultimate means of settling its more serious difficulties. Perhaps the author's best contribution is his description of America's situation as holding a balance of power which it is unwilling to exercise and of the conditions which make it a prey to various types of propaganda, and his worst is his analysis of the religious situation throughout the world. The worst of all, of course, is the non sequitur of his main conclusion.

If one prefers to draw his own conclusions about the direction of world movements, one might better take some calmer and more comprehensive statements about certain countries, rather than a miscellany of facts selected to illustrate tendencies to conflict. One of the danger spots is the Balkans. Take then *THE NEW BALKANS*, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong (Harper & Brothers, \$3.00). The author of this authoritative work is man-

"He made hell
a laughing-stock
and heaven a
dream"



DARWIN

BY
GAMALIEL BRADFORD

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aging editor of Foreign Affairs, has been in the diplomatic service at Belgrade, and has revisited the Balkans annually for several years. He gives a scholarly analysis of the present problems and difficulties in that chronically disturbed area, with no belittling of their complexities and the obstacles to the solution of the problems, but he sees reason to believe that the drift is toward understanding and goodwill. "Time will doubtless bring about a reconciliation between the masters of yesterday and those who work for them no longer. But barriers will not fall because they are immoral, but because they are manifestly inexpedient, and because as the past retreats into the distance expediency can gradually attain the ascendancy over sentiment and the memory of wrongs committed. Meanwhile it is quite true that the new states are not guided by enlightened self-interest. Few states, or indeed individuals, are. Fear, prejudice, greed, revenge, all sorts of economic passions play their part."

Another region not easy to visualize at long range and to estimate in accurate terms is Turkey. The new volume in that indispensable series, "The Modern World," is *TURKEY*, by Arnold J. Toynbee and Kenneth P. Kirkwood (Scribner's, \$3.00). The treatment includes a brief survey of Turkish history, the revolu-

tion of 1919-1922, and the economic, cultural, political, and international questions relating to new Turkey. As to the meaning and outcome of the process of the westernization of Turkey, the discussion ends with a question-mark. But that process itself is presented not as one of the curiosities of history but as a specific instance of a much larger process, the penetration of the world by western culture. It seems to be extraordinarily difficult for anyone to write of Turkey without becoming either an accuser or a defender. This is not a pro or con book, but an analysis embodying ample knowledge and sympathetic imagination.

The history of Japan is not easy reading. The names are hard to remember and the events lack coordination with the familiar events of western history. *THE ROMANCE OF JAPAN THROUGH THE AGES*, by James A. B. Scherer (Doran, \$3.50), presents a pleasantly flowing narrative and a vivid picture of the successive stages of Japanese civilization and the principal events in the development of the national life during the thirteen centuries since, with the "first transformation," Shotoku gave the kingdom its first fixed capital, introduced Buddhism, and started the nation upon a cultural development independent of that of China which had up to that time been dominant.

W. E. G.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

"A Better Right to Their Opinion"

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I appreciated your editorial on "A Portrait of a Possible Missionary" in a recent number. I am one of those missionaries who found out after a time that the native men already prepared by our earlier missionaries were more able to do the work and had a better right to their opinion on native matters than we outsiders. Lay on, Macduff.

Grainton, Neb.

BYRON G. SAGER.

Anent Henry Ford

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am flabbergasted, startled, astounded and emotionally discouraged as a result of reading the article "How Philanthropic is Henry Ford?" written by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. I have always had a subconscious feeling that Henry was an industrial hero. Because he paid high wages, favored shorter hours of labor, and of late decided to give the boys a chance in his big shop as a solution of the problem of juvenile crime, I had come to regard him as the very quintessence of virtuous philanthropy. Confound that preacher Niebuhr, who lives in Detroit and knows all about Henry. My dream has become a nightmare, and all my ideals of the Fordian rainbow have vanished into midair. Can it be possible that this is another case of facts upsetting an ancient fairy tale, and that "history has knocked the spots out of mythology?" From now on I am as one that hath awakened out of a dream. Many thanks to Niebuhr! The Lord help Henry.

Evanston, Ill.

WILLIAM H. CARWARDINE.

"The Church in Action Against" Crime

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "The church in action against the saloon" was the slogan of the anti-saloon league for the full quarter century during which prohibition was made a part of the constitution of our country. Then the liquor traffic was legal; today that traffic is a crime. It now stands where in principle it always stood, alongside its dusky sisters: gambling, vice, theft and even murder. There has been talk of reorganization of the anti-saloon league. If this is necessary it is not because it has made this or that mis-

take recently, but because we cannot answer the needs of a new day with an old method, nor yet with an old instrument unless that instrument can be remodeled to meet the new day.

Let us stop talking about "prohibition." It is no longer that. It is "crime," of which prohibition is but one phase. Prohibition is one of the most lucrative phases of crime, on the whole a safer bet than theft, gambling or prostitution—although all four

Elsewhere in this issue of *The Christian Century* you have read the publishers' announcement of Dr. Morrison's forthcoming book—

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live and breed close together. The church of God must get into action against crime and get in soon. Plainly this action must meet the law and legal processes generally as they exist in each state of the union. In Illinois, the enforcing machinery centers in the county. The state seems to have little or no power to enforce its own law. This makes the states attorney and the sheriff the big men of the day.

A case in point. Lucrative crime as above defined runs rampant in Kane county, Illinois. Kane county is a rectangular strip of land running north and south and enfolding in its bosom the beautiful valley of the river Fox. Between it and Cook county lies Dupage county. Wherein lies the great difference in decency as between these counties? The difference lies in the county seat, purely.

Can the anti-saloon league be reorganized to meet this situation? It would seem so, providing it is responsive to the day which the league itself has ushered in. We now have the national and state organizations, well correlated. Just add to that the county anti-saloon league and you have it. There is something in a name. A new name to suit the new day would be the least of our troubles. This much I believe may be said with all positiveness. The local churches will not support two law-enforcing bodies. The local churches are demanding the enforcement of law locally and will support that body which brings it in, or even works locally to that end. These reflections are the results of nearly two years voluntary service as executive secretary of the Better Government association of Kane county, Illinois.

West Chicago, Ill.

W. W. AYLESWORTH.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

Lesson for January 2. Lesson text: Mark 1:16-20; 2:13-17; 1 John 2:6

Follow Me

CHRISTIANITY is both loyalty to a Person and devotion to a Cause. To the vast majority the loyalty to the Person comes first. Yet it is only as the person incarnates the cause that devotion continues. In England, at the beginning of the war, one heard much of Kitchener's soldiers, but, later, the cause of England became dominant. In Italy, Garibaldi rallied his followers by personal appeal and yet, underneath, was the cause of a free Italy. Here and there today we hear much of powerful, popular ministers, Dr. Cadman, Dr. Stone, Dr. Ashby Jones, Dr. Truett or, in London, "Dick" Sheppard or Studdert Kennedy—these men all have large followings, but only because they are themselves ardent followers of Jesus Christ and his cause. A careful study of the Master's life reveals his own loyalty to his cause. In the garden of Gethsemane, that was his struggle—to keep his cause going. He was willing to die for his cause, he did die for it. That is his glory. That is the point about the cross; there is no light and easy way to be victorious when a cause is involved. Men deny themselves and practice rigorous control for the sake of the success of their cause. Only this gives value to the idea of being soldiers of the cross. Only such a course provides the "moral equivalent of war." "Heroes of the faith" live daily in the dangers and thrills of this "moral equivalent." Far be it from me to extol the glories of bloody war, but these moral equivalents we gloss over at our soul's peril. To be a follower of Jesus signifies that you are enrolled among those optimists who dare to believe that this world can be spiritualized. Is that an easy thing to believe? It is not. Living in a snug and smug civilization that counts God's blessings in dollars and cents rather than in spiritual achievements; that boasts of material power; that puts the highest premiums on what we all clearly recognize as worldly success, is it easy to keep alive spiritual ideas? Where are our sweet singers, like Stephen Foster? Where are our saints? Do our girls hear God's voice when the cathedral bells ring, like Joan of Arc? Bernard Shaw says that the significant thing is

that Joan thought she heard the voices. How beautiful to hear God's voice amid the orchard blossoms or in the mellow tones of the curfew. There are some things that even American dollars cannot buy. Sir Galahad, was he only the imagined hero of King Arthur's table? Then thank God for such imaginations. What are our young men dreaming about? If many of the college journals are indices, let us pause. On the other hand, one sees the thousands of college students who dare, at great risk, to take a square stand against war. This only suggests that spiritual idealism is not dead. You may say that they are wrong, but you must admit that they have moral courage and idealism. Perhaps we would be foolish to throw away the weapons we have until our spiritual weapons are forged; some of us hold that opinion. Perhaps world peace will come sooner when peace-makers cease to quarrel among themselves. If we refuse to employ tools already at our hand, like the world court, for instance, some of us think we are delaying perhaps the day of world peace. The followers of Jesus are spiritual heroes, battling material forces in order to win the day for the finer things.

Included in this cause must be the recognition of world brotherhood, the appreciation of all beautiful traits of character and the love of all fine arts, beauty. In America we have been afraid of beauty. We need apostles of spiritual beauty. We need to revive the idea of "gentleman" and of "lady." To follow Jesus is to be refined. "Follow me," said Jesus, and what did it involve? First of all, they had to leave their nets. We cannot be accepted upon cheaper terms. There is your net of commercial success; there is your net of social ambition; there is your net of fleshly pleasure; there is your net of lazy, selfish ease—those nets must all be left. To follow Jesus in Palestine meant to go with him with time, pocket-book, body and soul and it cannot mean less today. Trying to serve both God and Mammon, fails. "Choose this day whom you will serve."

JOHN R. EWERS.

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NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Canon Raven in New York And at Harvard

Canon Raven of Liverpool, who is described as "one of the younger men of the church of England who combine passion for social justice with intellectual force, high academic attainment, liberal theological views, and wide sympathies," sailed back to England on Dec. 18, after a brief and busy visit to these shores. He has preached in New York and Boston, and delivered the Noble lectures at Harvard. These lectures were a continuation of the Hulsean lectures which he delivered at Cambridge university where he was for ten years dean of Emmanuel college—John Harvard's college. The two series will be published early in the year under the title "Creator Spiritus."

Another Reminder of the Bible Reading Campaign

For those who have not yet provided themselves with separate copies of Luke and Acts (at one cent each from the nearest agency of the American Bible society) or hunted up the old war-time testament of the pocket testament league, or dusted off the family Bible, we give this second reminder that Christian America is joining in a simultaneous Bible reading campaign during January and February. Read a chapter a day in Luke during January, as long as the chapters last, and a chapter a day in Acts during February. Acts and February will come out even.

Distinguishing Denominational Principles Cease to Distinguish

The veteran Baptist historian, Prof. A. H. Newman, speaking recently to the Baptist ministers of Chicago, rehearsed Baptist history in outline. Dr. Newman pointed out as the marks of identification which have distinguished Baptists, in spite of variations on many matters, "faith in the personal lordship of Jesus, in the universal priesthood of believers, and in soul liberty," and summed up by saying that the one distinguishing principle of the denomination today is "insistence upon a regenerate church membership." If now the emphasis can be placed upon this principle as something that is common to a large group of Christians of many denominations, as it is, rather than something that is characteristic of one denomination, however great may have been the service which it has rendered to the world in upholding this idea when others did not, it looks as though a considerable step might be made in the direction of unity. Especially if there is not too rigid insistence upon a standardized definition of regeneration and the specific means of attaining it.

Many Ministers Laud Bible in Bible-Day Sermons

Many ministers all over the country took occasion on Bible Sunday, Dec. 5, to pay tributes to the book, urge its study, and present it as containing the solution of all the vexed problems of today. Among the New York preachers who did so was

Rev. Charles Edward Russell who said that attention to biblical precepts would do much to combat lawlessness, and criminal tendencies. Dr. George William Carter, general secretary of the American Bible society, at the 117th anniversary service, held at St. Thomas's Episcopal church, read a letter from President Coolidge in which the President said: "There is no other book with which the Bible can

be compared and no other reading that means so much to the human race. It is the support of the strong and the consolation of the weak; the dependence of organized government and the foundation of religion." Dr. R. H. Brooks, in the anniversary sermon, said: "This church rests her case on the written word. There is a tendency on the part of some to cite tradition rather than the scriptures as

Federal Council Executive at Minneapolis

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the federal council of the churches of Christ, meeting at Minneapolis, Dec. 8-10, considered and took action on a number of important matters in addition to the reports of its several departments and commissions. The discussions on peace under the direction of the commission on international justice and goodwill had to do chiefly with the methods of getting before local churches and individuals the materials which the commission might prepare for peace education. The following resolution was adopted without debate as a memorial to the senate and the house of representatives and the chairmen of their committee on foreign affairs, petitioning them to take into favorable consideration the opportunity offered by the approaching international disarmament conference to render an invaluable service to the cause of permanent world peace:

WOULD RENOUNCE WAR

"The executive committee of the federal council petitions you to take into favorable consideration the opportunity offered by the approaching international disarmament conference to render an invaluable service to the cause of permanent world peace.

"This committee suggests the desirability of a resolution authorizing the delegates of the United States to that conference to propose as a fundamental basis for disarmament that all nations undertake by a general treaty to employ the processes of diplomatic negotiation, judicial procedure, arbitration, and conciliation, for the adjustment of all disputes, and thus to renounce war as a lawful method for the settlement of international difficulties.

"This proposal would be peculiarly appropriate to the agenda of a disarmament conference. For disarmament could then be carried forward with confidence of security. Large standing armies could then be reduced to the small forces needed to maintain internal order, and navies could be placed upon a strictly peace footing."

It was urged in another resolution that continued efforts be made to remove the unimportant differences between Washington and Geneva which at present prevent the entrance of the United States into the world court, and it was stated that the churches would keep up the campaign for joining the world court even though the administration has dropped it.

Mr. James Myers, industrial secretary, spoke of the special moral peril of the suburban church, and its special moral responsibility to save the souls of its mem-

bers by keeping them reminded that the whole world is not as comfortable as they are. There was brief discussion of questions growing out of the Detroit episode. Dr. J. A. Vance, of Detroit, spoke in defense of the pastors of Detroit who, he said, had been subjected to unjustified criticism. Dr. Tippy said that labor representatives had not in the past abused the privileges of the pulpits which had been offered to them, and that those who spoke at Detroit belied the fears of those who had expected radical utterances. The church must either back out or go ahead in its relation to labor. If it yields to the fears which some have expressed, it will find itself in the condition of the church in Germany before the war, that is, under the legal power of a social democracy which is out of sympathy with the church.

The discussions on religious education and women's work dealt largely with the technique of organization; for example, such questions as: Should women be represented in local federations, or should there be separate women's organizations? Should a local council of religious education be an organization apart from the local federation or should the federation cover the whole field of cooperative religious work within the area? Kansas City had two organizations but now finds that it is more satisfactory to have all under the federation. In St. Paul the church federation disbanded and left the city Sunday school association to cover the whole ground. Dayton has both and finds that there is no confusion or friction.

PLAN INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE

Resolutions were adopted condemning even the suggestion of recourse to armed intervention for the settlement of any issues that may arise in regard to property rights of Americans under the new Mexican land laws, and protesting against the possible lifting of the arms embargo. Plans were presented for the calling of a national interracial conference by the commission on the church and race relations.

The commission on the church and social service was instructed "to undertake a study of the whole question of marriage and divorce in the United States with special reference to the safeguarding of marriage and the home, and of the marriage regulations of the churches with a view to ascertaining the differences and uniformities of their teachings on the subject of marriage, especially with respect to marriage between members of different communions."

authority. The Bible is paramount as a guide and rule of life. Seek for the spiritual in the Bible as you would for the character of your friends. People in reading the Bible sometimes find it barbaric, crude and puzzling. This is because they look for the outside husks rather than to whatever spirituality might be found therein."

In Memory of a Notable Mexican Presbyterian

The current issue of "El Mundo Cristiano," an interdenominational paper published in Mexico City as an organ of the evangelical work in that country, is devoted largely to the commemoration of the services and appreciation of the character of Rev. Prisciliano R. Zavaleta, who was for more than forty years a minister in the Presbyterian church and whose death occurred a few weeks ago. Trained in the Presbyterian seminary at Tlalpam, he was ordained in 1885, and from that time until his death was continuously and actively engaged in the ministry, often under adverse and difficult conditions. Those who knew him best have thrilling stories to tell of his wisdom and fidelity in the perilous days of the revolutions. He could have written from his own experience a book on "adventurous religion" in another sense than Fosdick's. Even the highly rhetorical eulogies of his friends, written in a language which naturally lends itself to laudation in sonorous superlatives, do not picture him as a man of unusual learning or exceptional eloquence. His gift was for exceptional fidelity in inconspicuous places. The value of this testimonial, apart from the significance which always attaches to the recognition of the worth of a worker who has exhibited the grace of humility in lowly stations, is that it serves as a reminder that Mexico has developed some native protestant leadership of a high order.

Dean Brown Thinks Complexes a Thin Excuse for Common Cussedness

In a recent sermon at Yale, Dean Brown, as reported through the not always crystal-clear medium of the daily press, asserted that complexes and behavioristic psychology are fantastic theories which deny the plain facts of moral consciousness, and serve as an excuse for wrongdoing. Men do wrong because they want to, and for no other reason. "You can make out quite a case on paper for the notion that men and women cannot choose between right and wrong, that they are simply thrust in this direction and in that by forces over which they have no control," said the dean. "The one fact that kills the claim dead at the start is that no one ever thinks of living by it. We praise people and we blame people for their right and wrong actions. We hold them accountable because we know they are responsible." Dean Brown pointed out that if he suddenly struck a disciple of behavioristic psychology, the disciple probably would knock him down and, the dean added, "that would be entirely appropriate." Which is reminiscent—both in its simple ad hominem appeal, and the limited conviction which it carries as one thinks about it—of Dr. Johnson's famous remark that he could refute Berkeley's idealism by kicking a stone.

Straus Attacks Ford and Ford Answers Straus

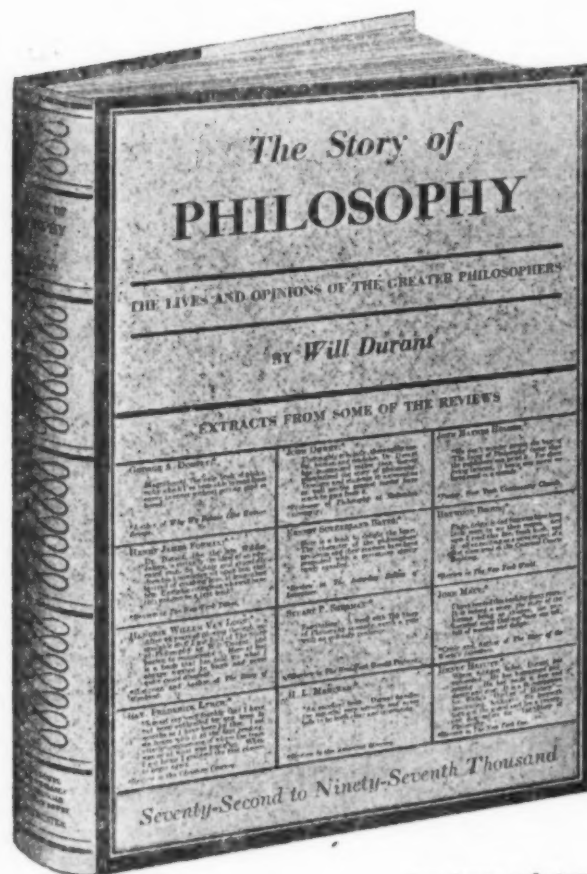
The sharp little colloquy between Henry Ford and Nathan Straus recently advanced another stage when Mr. Straus charged Mr. Ford with attacking the Jewish people and challenged him to select eight members of a jury of ten to weigh any evidence that he might be able to submit to it; and when Mr. Ford replied in an article, the advance proofs of which say that he does not need to select a jury of clergymen and publicists who would not recognize a Jewish question if they saw it and would not dare to say so if they did, because he has already submitted the evidence to a larger jury, the American people. Mr. Ford asserts that he is not attacking the Jewish people but merely

revealing the facts about the control of international finance by "the international Jew," a fact which he says is as obvious as their control of the clothing trade. He is not attacking anybody but merely doing the American people the favor of letting them know who their masters are in matters of finance.

Dry Law Does Not Exclude Foreign Liquor Ads

By a ruling of the treasury department, foreign magazines are not to be excluded from entry into the United States on the ground that they contain liquor advertisements. This seems a sensible and inevitable decision, in view of the fact that the law specifically states that foreign newspapers shall not be excluded for that

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reason. And anyway, why should we be so sensitive about a few foreign advertisements when the bootleggers in a southern city boldly come forth with a float in a local celebration, and when a considerable section of our own press and stage devotes an appreciable percentage of its energy to advertising the joys of alcoholic exhilaration and alleging the cruelty and unreasonableness of placing restrictions in the way of it? Freedom of the press is worth something, and not all foolish utterances and propaganda can safely be made unlawful.

The Beneficent Function of Death, Sugar, Refrigeration

A Chinese recently gave a missionary friend three reasons for renewed confidence in China's future, says the Presbyterian press department. First, over twenty bad men died last year. Second, two hundred tons of sugar are being made daily in Shanghai. Third, the Chinese now make thermos bottles better and cheaper than the Japanese.

Dr. John Roach Straton Continues Emphasis on Divine Healing

Dr. Straton, of Calvary Baptist church, New York, continues to make "divine healing" a prominent part of his message. He is not willing to call it mind healing or even faith healing. It must be healing by the direct action of divine power and not through any method described or practiced by psychoanalysis, Christian Scientists, Coué, or other application of scientific, semi-scientific, or pseudo-scientific knowledge. "The Bible teaches clearly," he says, "and the works of Christ, his apostles and other followers for thousands of years, prove that healing for the human body is possible through the direct divine power of the living God. And that is the sort of healing and the only sort that we shall stand for here at Calvary Baptist church. It is an entirely sane and right thing. It is no new thing under the sun, but simply a return on our part to a fuller obedience to the commands of our Lord, and to a more adequate improvement of the opportunities which he gives us as his followers."

"He Arose and Was Baptized"—Standing Up?

A choice example of theological and exegetical discussion is presented by an article in the Gospel Advocate and one in an un-named Presbyterian paper from which it quotes. The Presbyterian started it by undertaking to prove by a quotation from scripture that the apostle baptized candidates standing up and therefore without immersion. The inquirer was referred to the ninth chapter of Acts. "He read aloud until he had the account of Saul's conversion. At the eighteenth verse he read: 'And he received his sight forthwith, and arose and was baptized.' I explained to him that Luke used only two words for the action, 'anastas e baptiste,' literally, 'standing up he was baptized.' The young couple were satisfied that Saul was baptized right in the room standing up. God's word had given them light. They united with the Presbyterian church and became faithful members." The thing that makes this worth recording is that this quotation is followed by a column of serious argument to prove the error of

this interpretation. It ought to be a good object-lesson for those who take just what the Bible says without regard to what it means by what it says. Well, it says "standing up," doesn't it?

The Experience of India in Moral Education in Secondary Schools

The Indian Social Reformer, of Bombay, is of the opinion that a study of the effects of moral education as it has been practiced in the schools of that country for several years reveals an unsatisfactory result. "Every school has to include moral instruction as one of the subjects of study in the school time-table, while the

educational officers are required to report on it in each school," says a writer in that magazine. "A reference to some inspection reports tells us that the results have not been quite encouraging, if not positively harmful. The writer has been at pains to gather opinions from teachers who have been handling moral instruction in different parts of the Madras presidency, and their considered opinions in the last few years go to prove, if anything, that moral instruction as at present attempted is a failure. I believe this is the position which will be taken by any teacher who knows his work. The direct teaching of morals as at present adopted

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is not the right way of doing it. There are no short-cuts to moral education. It is largely a question of moral training. A government review of its progress in the Bombay presidency pronounces its lamentable failure and when the time comes, the same verdict will be recorded on its progress in this presidency as well. Indeed the right view is that entertained by Dr. Starbuck. 'We must stop rubbing the virtues into the moral skins of our children. We must reduce to a modicum all the direct moral appeals that are too apt to end in sentimentality and insincerity. We must minimize the introspection and vivisection that threaten to lead to paralysis, artificiality and introversion.' Children are not inclined to abstract thinking and moral values must have their roots in their own vitalized experience. He enlarges on the mischievous effects of direct moral instruction. A healthy-minded boy might well withstand a week of such discipline, but two weeks of it should bring irritation, three aggravation. A healthy red-blooded boy should come out of the fourth week of such persistent piety with murder in his heart. The youngsters being fitted to consider situations, definite and concrete rather than virtues, abstract and subjective as they are, the teacher functions best in creating live situations."

Stricter Sunday Laws Proposed For Nation's Capital

An effort has been inaugurated, by the moral welfare department of the Presbyterian board of Christian education to create sentiment and secure a backing of public opinion for the passage of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia. Such a measure has been introduced in the house of representatives by Congressman Lankford.

Rochester Pastor Heads New Lutheran Board

Rev. Franklin F. Fry, of Rochester, N. Y., has been elected secretary of the newly created board of American missions of the United Lutheran church. The new board will begin business on Jan. 1, operating under a charter granted by the state of Pennsylvania. It will have charge of work among Lutheran immigrants, racial groups in cities, and the unchurched portion of the American population. An annual budget of \$779,000 is projected.

Y. M. C. A. Grants Its First Medal for Heroism

Ralph Minkler, a student and assistant physical director of the Y. M. C. A. of Waterloo, Ia., is the first to receive the gold medallion for heroism which the association has recently designed. In his citation it is stated that Minkler saved eleven boys from drowning in the swollen Cedar river, when the motorboat in which he and the boys were riding overturned.

For and Against the Admission of Women to the Ministry

An overture has been presented to the general synod of the Reformed church recommending the granting to women of all the rights and privileges now enjoyed by men alone in that church, including ordination to the ministry and the holding of offices in all church organizations from the local congregation to the general synod itself. The proposal, it is recog-

nized, involves "a radical departure from the tradition of the church and a step of far-reaching consequences." The committee of the synod appointed to bring in a recommendation on this petition states very clearly that it finds no principle in either reason or revelation excluding women from the exercise of any function in the church. The question is entirely one of expediency. The committee is in some doubt as to whether the women want this extension of privilege. "To the best of our knowledge our women have never claimed the right which is theirs." It suggests also that, in view of the increasing differentiation of the ministry into varied types of service, action upon the general proposal may well be postponed until it

appears whether new functions may not be developed which will be more suitable for women than the ordinary type of ministry. The committee therefore recommends that the question be recommitted for further study, and that in the meantime the women's missionary society be asked for an opinion. The Reformed Church Messenger asked a number of prominent men of that church to give their judgment in regard to the proposal. The majority of these opinions were heartily in favor of it. No one denied the equality of women and their equal right as a matter of principle. Some thought that the fact that few women would claim the privilege was an argument against the expediency of granting it at present. Others thought

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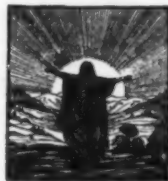
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that this very fact made it all the safer to open the doors, since only those specially fitted would enter. One said tersely, "Eventually, why not now?" A woman doubted whether, since too few men now enter church work, "men might not use the presence of women in the pulpit as a further excuse for backsliding." Several were unreservedly for it.

Sees Hope for Peons in Mexico's Revolution

There is a "quiet revolution" going on in Mexico today which promises to bring relief to the Indian peon who has not owned the land he has tilled for centuries. Dr. Alva W. Taylor told the international association for agricultural missions at its annual meeting held in New York city, Dec. 2, 3. "At the close of the Diaz regime in Mexico in 1910," said Dr. Taylor, "most of the tillable and grazing land of the country was in the hands of less than nine hundred individuals, families or corporations. From the days of Madero through those of Carranza and Obregon and until Calles, one of the fundamental principles of the revolution has been a redistribution of the land to the people who till it. We were told by the secretary of agriculture, Luis Leon, that they had distributed up to date something more than twenty-two millions of acres. The government finances the enterprise by paying the landlord in bonds running at five per cent. and redeemable in twenty years. The small purchaser pays the government as he would pay rent, and acquires on each payment a larger equity in his little farm. The government has founded nearly five thousand rural schools since the fighting stopped seven or eight years ago, and is establishing them now at the rate of about one hundred per month. It is a vast missionary enterprise in which, as the director of education, Dr. Saenz, says: 'We simply grab someone who is willing to teach and can teach a little, and put them to work. Then we try to train them to be real teachers. We are not bothered with orthodox formulas nor worried about how they do it in South America or other modern cities. We are concerned simply to get the people started on the road to education, so we give them the three R's, teach them all the agriculture we can, interest them in better living and health conditions, and hope by thus planting the beginnings of a school system to improve it year by year into something more modern.' The association reported a year of growth, with many societies showing interest in its work.

No Bolshevism at Southern Baptist Student Conference

The first all-southern Baptist student conference, held last month at Birmingham, Ala., was attended by 1,452 Baptist students from 152 denominational, state and private schools in all parts of the south. The conference was safe and sane in its theology, says a reporter in the Watchman-Examiner, whose cheering headline is "No Bolshevism Exists among Southern Students." "Thorough loyalty to the Bible characterized those students attending the conference. One of them repeated from memory the sermon on the mount at a devotional service, and all were requested to memorize that immortal discourse in the belief that this would aid

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them in putting into practice on their campuses the principles of Jesus Christ." "The young people are for the whole denominational program, and the principal criticism sounded was the fact that our churches have so reduced their contributions to missions and benevolences as greatly to thwart the progress of the gospel at home and abroad." There was evidently a considerable sprinkling of older leaders present, for "youth and maturity faced each other at the council table and sought to thresh out common problems in a spirit of mutual helpfulness. The students brought first-hand information on the problems of the present day campus, and the mature representatives of the denomination contributed counsel out of ripe experience and pointed out to the young

people how they can invest their talents and service on the campus, in the local church, and in the field of active labor at home and abroad."

Wants the Apocrypha Restored To Protestant Bible

Dr. Milo H. Gates, vicar of the Episcopal chapel of the Intercession, Trinity parish, New York city, in a recent sermon asserted that the omission of fourteen books, the Apocrypha, from the Bibles commonly distributed by the various Bible societies was "a disgrace to protestantism. Speaking as an Episcopalian," he continued, "it is my duty to instruct my people that these books are part of our Bible. The Bible without the books of the Apocrypha could not possibly rest

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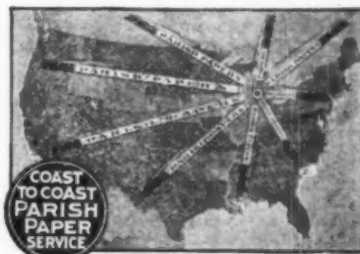
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Auburn Theological Seminary Strengthens Its Force

It is now some weeks since the inauguration of the new president of Auburn theological seminary, Dr. Harry L. Reed. Many distinguished guests were present, including President Coffin of Union seminary and Dr. W. O. Thompson, moderator of the Presbyterian general assembly. President G. B. Stewart retires after 27 years of service to the seminary, and President Reed comes into his new office with the seasoning and experience already gained in nearly a quarter of a century of seminary teaching. It will be recalled that Dr. Gaius Glenn Atkins, widely known as the brilliant pastor of the First Congregational church of Detroit, has recently accepted the chair of homiletics and sociology at Auburn.

Fellowship Among Varied Faiths

It was a notable event when a Roman Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, and two Jewish rabbis were the speakers at a recent dinner in Chicago at which the hosts, seventy prominent Jews, each brought as his guest "my best Christian friend." The speeches were no pleas for mutual tolerance based on indifference, but appeals for cooperation and fellowship based on mutual respect and understanding. It made a momentary sensation when the Catholic priest, the Jesuit dean of Loyola university, announced that he came "to preach intolerance," but it presently appeared that the intolerance that he preached was the intolerance of intolerance, whether social, religious, industrial, or racial, and of intolerable social and moral conditions.

Song Leader Honored by His Colleagues

During the sessions of the recent Disciples convention at Memphis, a complimentary dinner was given in honor of W. E. M. Hackleman who for 25 years has been conducting music at conventions (as he did at Memphis) and in evangelistic meetings. Over 200 persons were present to testify to their appreciation of the unique service which he has rendered in this field as well as in connection with the Disciples congress, of which he has been secretary for several years, and Bethany assembly.

Presbyterians and Jews Fraternize In Birmingham, Ala.

When the Independent Presbyterian church was organized in Birmingham, Ala., the rabbi of the Hebrew congregation Emanu-El offered the use of their building until the new church could obtain

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Strong Programs for Ford Hall Forum

Among the most notably successful forums is that conducted at Ford hall, Boston, under the auspices of the Boston Baptist social union. For the present season, which is the twentieth, the program includes such well known names as Joseph Jastrow, John A. Lapp, Noel Sargent, James H. Maurer and Harry A. Overstreet.

New Missionaries of the United Church of Canada

It is difficult to visualize the United church of Canada as a concrete reality. A broadside showing the pictures of forty missionaries, some of whom have already reached their fields, while others are en route, gives a vivid impression of the reality of this great adventure in fellowship. These are the first missionaries to be sent out by the United church of Canada. They represent various fields in China, Japan, India, Korea, Africa, and missionary stations in different parts of Canada.

Conference at El Paso on Welfare Of Spanish-Americans in U. S.

A conference was held at El Paso, Tex., Dec. 11-16, for the study of the social, economic, educational and religious conditions among the Mexicans and Spanish-speaking Americans in the United States. Five commissions, representing boards and agencies which work among these people and which have been making an investigation into the present conditions and welfare activities, cooperated in the conference. It is hoped that the result will be a coordination of the work of the various agencies now operating in this field and a corresponding increase in the efficiency of their work. To prevent the conference from having the appearance of being an attempt to hand down something to the Mexicans, an attempt was made to secure an equal representation of Spanish-speaking delegations. The conference was financed chiefly by the boards connected with the home missions council and the council of women for home missions and valuable cooperation was received from the departments of education and charitable organizations of the border states. The total number of persons now residing in the United States who are of Mexican birth or parentage is estimated at between 1,200,000 and 1,500,000.

Presbyterian Book Expert Goes to Harper's

Mr. Walter S. Lewis, who has been head of the book department of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education for 10 years, will leave his present position to become head of the recently established religious book department of Harper's publishing house in New York, January 1. Mr. Lewis was for many years with the board of publication and Sabbath school work. He is the second of the employees of the board to resign in two weeks, Dr.

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Christmas Gifts

AFTER the hubbub of Christmas is over, and you settle back at ease to enjoy the gifts that have come bearing your name, it is not hard to distinguish between them. They fall into two general classes. In one class there is, for instance, that gold-inlaid fountain pen filler which came marked "With love from Dick." And in the second class there is, equally for instance, that copy of *The Story of Philosophy* which bore "Christmas greetings from Aunt Margaret."

In other words, there is the gift which is the child of desperation, and there is the gift which is the child of deliberation. You have no trouble in visualizing Dick, charging into some department store half an hour before closing time, three days before Christmas, and frantically buying whatever comes in view, and is within his means, until the last name on the list so firmly clutched in his fist has a check mark against it.

But neither have you any trouble in visualizing Aunt Margaret as she does her Christmas shopping. She makes three demands of each gift. It must have value for the one who is to receive it; it must be expressive of her own personality; it must show that she has an intelligent interest in the recipient.

This analysis which you can apply to the Christmas gifts that come to you, your friends can—and probably will—apply to the gifts you make them. Of course they will be glad to be remembered by you. But they can tell—and they will tell—whether your gift is

the chance result of a wild swoop on the counters of the nearest store, or whether it represents a real effort to transmit your active, intelligent goodwill under the forms of this happy old custom of Christmas giving.

What demands do you make of yourself as you provide your Christmas gifts? If you are not to join in lowering the tone and meaning of the custom, will you

not do well to seek to satisfy the requirements already suggested;—that the gift shall have value for the receiver;—that the gift shall express the personality of the giver;—that the gift shall show that the giver has an intelligent interest in the receiver?

INCREASING numbers of people, disturbed by the growing silliness of much that passes for Christmas celebration, are doing their giving in this fashion. And as people of this sort come to know *The Christian Century*, they frequently find in a subscription to this paper exactly the sort of gift wherewith to remember certain of their friends, for which they are looking. For this reason, Christmas time each year sees an increase in the number of such gift subscriptions that are entered on the lists of the paper.

It is the person of the most exacting standards who is most likely to make such a gift. We were reading, just the other day, of the awarding of the President Edgecomb Cup to Mr. John P. White of Walton, New York, for the production of the best weekly newspaper in the United States. Sure enough, while Mr. White's name was still fresh in mind his order for Christmas gift subscriptions for several of his friends turned up in the circulation office!

It is equally true, of course, that it is the person of exacting standards who is most certain to appreciate such a gift.

THERE is still time in most of the United States, at least, to send a gift subscription to *The Christian Century* and have an illuminated card, announcing the gift, reach the recipient before the holiday. Where that is impossible, however, you can inform the recipient directly, and by sending the subscription in at once you can still be sure that the first issue of 1927 will not be missed.

By the use of the Christmas Cheques, these gifts of a year's subscription to friends can be most easily made. If your Christmas Cheques have been tucked away in some pigeon-hole, or buried under a pile of correspondence, or lost in some coat pocket, now is the time to pull them out and put them to intelligent service. More cheques, if you can use them.

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SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION

- | | |
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| <p>The Influence of Environment on a Life
The World in Which Jesus Lived</p> <p>Laying Life Foundations
Jesus' Home and Heritage</p> <p>Finding the Right Perspective in Life
Jesus at the Threshold of Youth</p> <p>Choosing My Life Work
Jesus Dedicates Himself to Service</p> <p>How to Meet Temptation
Jesus Determines His Life Principles</p> <p>My Responsibility for Community Welfare
What Jesus Said He Came to Do</p> <p>The Influence of Friends and Companions
Jesus Chooses His Associates</p> | <p>Does It Pay to Be Popular?
The Growing Popularity of Jesus and the Problems It Presented to Him</p> <p>Why Pray?
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Jesus' Value of a Human Life</p> <p>Is Faith in God Practical?
Confidence in God's Care</p> <p>What Shall We Do with Social Customs and Regulations Which We Do Not Like?
Jesus' Attitude Toward Religious and Social Customs</p> <p>Will the Right Always Triumph?
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